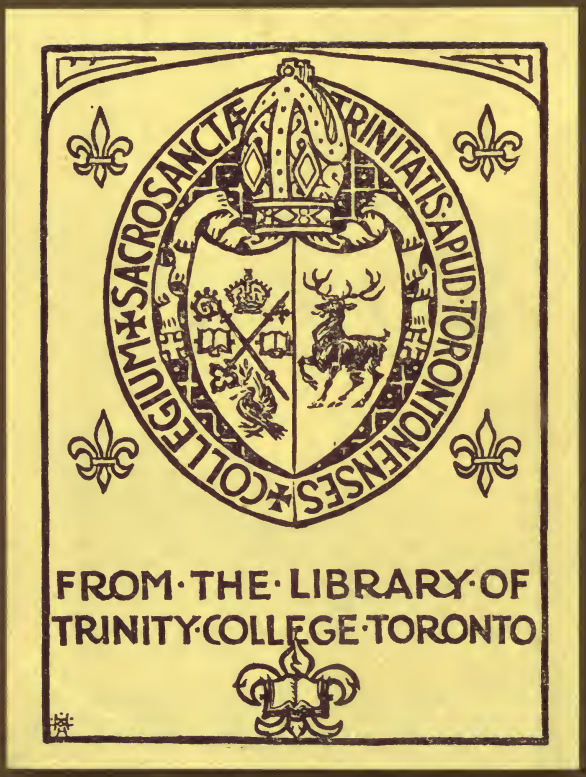
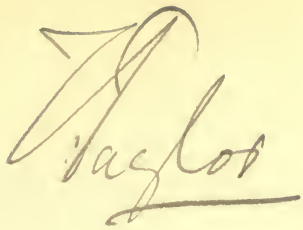
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HOW SHALL WE CONFORM

TO

THE LITURGY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND?

THIRD EDITION, REVISED.

WITH TWO ARTICLES ON ULTRA-RITUALISM, FROM THE 'QUARTERLY REVIEW' (1867–9).

By JAMES CRAIGIE ROBERTSON, M.A.,

CANON OF CANTERBURY, AND PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

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TO

THE REV. JOHN GRIFFITH, D.D.,

CANON OF ROCHESTER.

My dear Friend,

My first attempt at authorship was made while I was serving under you as curate of Boxley; and among the expressions of approval which cheered me on its appearance, there was none more hearty or more welcome than yours.

Allow me to dedicate this re-publication to you, in remembrance of our old connexion, and in thankful acknowledgment of your constant kindness during nearly thirty years.

Believe me,

Ever sincerely yours,

J. C. ROBERTSON.

Precincts, Canterbury,
October 5, 1869.

PREFACE.

THE first edition of the work which fills the greater part of this volume was published in 1843, and a second edition (considerably increased in size) followed in 1844. The book has long been out of print, and I had thought of it as having passed away with the circumstances by which it was called forth.

Within the last few years, however, it has been frequently quoted, and from more than one quarter suggestions have been made to me that it should be reprinted. It seemed to me that, if the book were to be used at all, an improved edition was desirable; but here a serious difficulty arose out of the great changes which have taken place with regard to the subject of it. Was I to suppose that our ritual questions were exactly the same, and in the same state, as in 1843–4? or should all reference to that time be discarded, and should I look exclusively to the stage which we have now reached?

On the whole, the best course appeared to be that the book of 1844 should be reproduced in substance, with only so much of reference to the later developments of the ritual controversy as might be absolutely necessary; and that, for the purpose of bringing down

the discussion to the present day, two papers which I had been lately invited to contribute to the 'Quarterly Review' should be included in the volume.

It need hardly be said that in a work written more than a quarter of a century ago, there is much which I should not now write; or that, addressed as it was to the special circumstances of that time, there is much in it which belongs wholly to the past, and is not worth preserving. I have, therefore, used the power of excision largely; and on the other hand a considerable quantity of fresh materials has been inserted, although such insertions are not marked unless when they relate to things which have taken place since the date of the second edition. Within this time some of the questions here discussed have been settled by legal judgments; some may be considered as having settled themselves; while as to others (such as the frequency of sermons and the use of hymns) the advanced ritualists of the present day take an opposite direction to that which was taken by the older school. Three of the four "State-services" have been withdrawn by authority of the Crown; and even the promise to "conform to the Liturgy," from which the title of my book was taken, has been abolished by the late Clerical Subscription Act. Still, I have thought it well to retain some matter which can now be regarded merely as historical, and no longer as bearing on practical questions. One section only,—that "On sharing in the peculiar liturgical forms of churches in communion with the Church of England,"—has been omitted, not from any change of

opinion as to the consistency of such acts with the obligations of the English clergy, but because the subject could hardly be said to fall within the proper limits of my inquiry.

The articles from the 'Quarterly Review' are reprinted with very little alteration. I have, however, taken this opportunity to restore, in the second article, certain passages, illustrative of the state of knowledge and argument among the ultra-ritualists, which, after having been in type, were omitted in order to make room for some notice of the manner in which the late judgment of the Privy Council had been received by the party.

J. C. R.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.*

A.D.

1533. CRANMER, Primate.
1534. Final rupture of Henry VIII. with Rome.
1536. Dissolution of the lesser monasteries.
1538. The greater monasteries suppressed.
1547. Edward VI. King, Jan. 28.
—— Royal Injunctions.
—— The First Book of Homilies printed.
1549. The First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. published, having been drawn up in May preceding, and ratified by Parliament, Jan. 21. (Cardw. Edw. the Sixth's Liturgies, p. xi.) It was soon afterwards translated into Latin by Alexander Alesse.
1550. March. The Ordination Services published.
1552. The Second Prayer-Book, to be used from Nov. 1.
—— Forty-two Articles of Religion.
—— About this time the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* was drawn up.
1553. Mary, Queen, July 6.
1556. Pole, Primate.
1558. Elizabeth, Queen, Nov. 17.
1559. A new English Prayer-Book, coming into use June 24.
—— Royal Injunctions.
—— Parker, Primate, Dec. 16.
1560. The Prayer-Book published in Latin, for the use of Colleges in the Universities, Eton and Winchester.
1561. Interpretations of the Royal Injunctions are published by the Bishops.
1563. The Articles of Religion reviewed and altered.
1564. The Second Book of Homilies distributed.
1565. (Jan.) Advertisements relating to doctrine, rites, &c. issued.
1571. The Articles of Religion revised, and reduced to their present form.
—— A Book of Canons issued. These (which were not submitted to the Lower House of Convocation), "being confirmed only for Elizabeth herself, and not for her heirs, are thought to have lost their authority by her death." Gibson, Codex, p. x.
1575. Grindal, Archbishop of York, translated to Canterbury.
1583. Whitgift, Primate.
1603. James I., King, March 24.

* It is possible that some events in this table may have been misdated by a year, and that events of the same year may have been placed in a wrong order. I trust, however, that its accuracy will be found practically sufficient, even if it be not perfect. The year is reckoned, as at present, from Jan. 1.

A.D.

1604. Hampton Court Conference (January). Some alterations in the Prayer-Book in consequence.

—— A Code of Canons drawn up and passed, having the authority of Convocation and the Crown, but not of Parliament.

—— Bancroft, Primate.

1610. Abbot, Primate.

1620. Consecration of Jesus Chapel, near Southampton, by Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester.

1622. Royal Injunctions for Cathechizing.

1623. Prince Charles goes to Madrid.

1625. Charles I., King, March 27.

1633. Laud, Primate.

1636. Bishop Wren's Articles of Inquiry for Norwich. He was soon after translated to Ely, in which see he died, 1667.

1637. Unsuccessful attempt to introduce the Liturgy into Scotland.

1638. Bishop Montagu's Articles for Norwich.

1640. A Book of Canons. Their authority has been generally disregarded in practice. See Cardw. Synodalia, pp. xxviii. and 380.

1641. Archbishop Laud committed to the Tower, March 1.

—— A committee of ten earls, ten bishops, and ten barons is appointed by the House of Lords to inquire into the state of religion. The members are afterwards empowered to associate with themselves any number of divines, and form a sub-committee. These bodies, of which Williams, Archbishop of York, was president, were generally hostile to the Primate.

1645. (January). Archbishop Laud martyred. The Prayer-Book suppressed, and the "Directory" established.

1649. Charles I. martyred, Jan. 30.

1660. Charles II. restored, May 29.

—— Juxon, Primate.

1661. Savoy Conference.

1662. The Liturgy, as it now stands, published, with the confirmation of the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4.

1663. Sheldon, Primate.

1677. Sancroft, Primate.

1685. James II. King.

1688. James forced to abdicate.

1689. William III. King.

—— A committee, including Tillotson, Burnet, and Patrick deliberates on a revision of the Liturgy, with a view to comprehension of Dissenters.

1691. Tillotson, Primate. The Clergy who refused to take an oath to the new government had been deprived.

1695. Tenison, Primate.

1702. Anne, Queen.

1714. George I. King.

1717. The functions of the Convocation suspended.

LIST OF BOOKS CITED.

Of the books which are quoted, the following list contains all as to which there might be a difficulty, either from the variety of editions or from the shortness of the references.

Alterations of the Book of Common Prayer by the Commissioners of 1691, published by order of the House of Commons, 1854.

Annotated Book of Common Prayer, ed. J. H. Blunt, ed. i. Lond. 1866.

Bennett's Hist. of the Common Prayer, Lond. 1709.

Bingham, 2 vols. fol. Lond. 1726.

Brand's Popular Antiquities, ed. Ellis, 3 vols. Lond. 1841.

Bull, ed. Burton, Oxf. 1827.

Burn's Eccl. Law, ed. R. Phillimore, Lond. 1842.

Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, 3 vols. fol. Lond. 1681, 1683, 1715.

——— Hist. of his Own Time.*

Caerimoniale Episcoporum, Paris, 1633.

Cardwell's† Documentary Annals—Synodalia—Liturgies of Edward VI.—Conferences on the Common Prayer. The first edition of each.

Collier's Ecclesiastical History.*

Dansey, Horae Decanicae Rurales, second edition.

Fox, Acts and Monuments, Lond. 1684.

Fuller's Church History, fol. ed.

Gavanti Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum, Aug. Vind. 1763.

Gibson's Codex, Lond. 1713.

Hallam's Constitutional History of England, fourth ed. 2 vols. 8vo.

Hammond, Lond. 1684.

Harrison's Historical Inquiry into the Rubric, Lond. 1845.

Heylyn's Hist. of the Reformation, Lond. 1674.

——— Life of Laud, Lond. 1671.

Hooker, ed. Keble, Oxf. 1836.

Interleaved Prayer-Book, ed. Beamont and Campion, 2nd ed. Cambr. 1866.

Johnson. The Clergyman's Vade-Mecum, first edition.

Krazer de Liturgiis, Aug. Vindel. 1786.

Laud's Troubles and Trial, Lond. 1695.

* The paging of the folios is given from the margin of late 8vo. editions.

† In citing the Doc. Ann. and Synod. I have generally omitted the learned editor's name—the mention of these valuable works being very frequent, in consequence of my endeavour to refer to them for such things as are contained in their *text* rather than to the less convenient volumes of earlier historians and collectors.

L'Estrange's Alliance of Divine Offices, Lond. 1699. (The first edition was published in 1659.)
Martene de Antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus, Venet. 1783.
Montagu's Articles, Camb. 1841.
Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, 3 vols. Lond. 1837.
Nicholls on the Common Prayer, Lond. 1712.
Palmer's Origines Liturgicae, Oxf. 1836, and Supplement, Lond. 1845.
Peacock's English Church Furniture, &c., at the Period of the Reformation, Lond. 1866.
Proctor on the Common Prayer, ed. 7, Cambr. 1858.
Sanderson's Sermons, Lond. 1689.
Sarum Missal, Paris, 1534.
Sharp on the Rubric and Canons, Oxf. 1834.
Sparrow's Rationale, Oxf. 1840.
Schmid's Liturgik der Christkatholischen Kirche, 3rd ed., Passau, 1840–2.
Strype's Annals, vol. i. second edition, fol. Annals, vol. ii. iii.—Ecclesiastical Memorials—Lives of Cranmer, Parker, Grindal, and Whitgift, the first editions, fol.—Life of Aylmer, Oxf. 8vo.
Taylor, Jer., ed. Heber, Lond. 1828.
Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, 3rd ed. 4 vols.
Wren's Parentalia, or Memoirs of the Family of Wren, Lond. 1750.

When articles and injunctions of Bishops or Archdeacons are quoted without a reference, it is generally to be understood that the extracts are made from the originals, many of which have since been reprinted in the second Report of the Ritual Commission, 1868.

HOW SHALL WE

CONFORM TO THE LITURGY

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND?

[A.D. 1843.]*

PART I.

INTRODUCTION.

Among the consequences of the late theological movement has been the manifestation of a feeling, more energetic, at least, if not stronger, than any that had before been general, as to the obligations of the clergy in matters of ritual observance.

We hear daily of the revival of practices which, from long disuse, have come to be now regarded as novelties, and such revivals are often met with violent repugnance on the part of persons who have hitherto been accustomed to a different system; while their advocates allege in favour of them, sometimes the laws of our national Church, sometimes the remoter sanction of antiquity; and, if it be urged that it would be well to proceed soberly and gradually in attempting to restore what has long been neglected, they are found, perhaps, to reply, that they have no choice in

[* The reader is requested to bear in mind the explanations given in the Preface, as to the changes introduced into the present edition.]

the matter; that caution and a consideration of circumstances are not within their power; that they have bound themselves by pledges which shut out the exercise of their own judgment, and can only be fulfilled by an exact obedience to orders.

There are others—and among these the great majority of the clergy may probably be reckoned—who, without going so far, at least in practice, have felt the impulse of the time, and wish to do their duty in this respect to the best of their ability; while this wish is accompanied by some perplexing uncertainty as to what their duty really is.

And it is impossible to shut our eyes to the existence of a third class; the members of which, however zealous they may be in the discharge of some part of their pastoral functions, appear to act very much as if in ritual matters they hardly acknowledged any authority, or held themselves bound by any engagements.[1] To such persons it would be useless to address myself; but in the hope that my labour may not be unprofitable to some of those who wish to perform their duty faithfully, in obedience to the ritual directions of the Church, I purpose to examine, in the following pages, the real amount of our obligations.

Every parochial clergyman of the English Church is bound by subscription to the following article of the xxxvith canon:—

> "That the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said Book prescribed, in Public Prayer and administration of the Sacraments, and none other."

[1] See, for example, the strange state of things indicated by the Bishop of St. David's, in his Charge of 1842 (pp. 19-26), as existing in the diocese over which he has been called to preside.

He has also subscribed this declaration :—

> "I, *A. B.*, do declare that I will conform to the Liturgy of the United Church of England and Ireland, as it is now by law established." [2]

And a pledge to the same effect is exacted of priests at their ordination, in these words :—

> " Will you give your faithful diligence always so to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and realm hath received the same, according to the commandments of God ; so that you may teach the people committed to your cure and charge with all diligence to keep and observe the same ?"
>
> *Answer.* "I will so do by the help of the Lord."

Such are the engagements of the clergy ; and very strong language is often used as to their stringency. It appears to be the opinion of many interpreters, that we are tied to an exact observance of everything set down in the Prayer-Book ; an observance with which no outward circumstances may lawfully be allowed to interfere.

Thus, we find Archdeacon Sharp, in the middle of the last century, writing as follows, in his work on the Rubric and Canons (p. 5) ;—" We have by " repeated promises and acts, which he enumerates, " tied ourselves down to a regular, constant, conscientious performance of all and

[2] [By the Act 28 and 29 Vict. c. 122 (1865), the following declaration was substituted for the subscriptions, &c., formerly required :—" I assent to the XXXIX. Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of the Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. I believe the doctrine of the United Church of England and Ireland, as therein set forth, to be agreeable to the Word of God ; and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority." It will be seen that the obligations of the clergy to conformity remain substantially as before.]

every thing prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer;" and, since this is said to be undertaken *ex animo*, "how frivolous is it for any of us to say that the connivance or the presumed consent of our Ordinary, or the private conveniency of ourselves or families, or the obliging any of our parishioners, or the apparent inexpediency of adhering to the letter in some few cases, will dissolve this our obligation!"

So Bishop Blomfield, in his Charge to the London clergy, 1842, repeats words which he had formerly addressed to the clergy of the diocese of Chester:—"Conformity to the Liturgy implies, of course, an exact observance of the rubric. We are no more at liberty to vary the mode of performing any part of public worship, than we are to preach doctrines at variance with the Articles of Religion;"[3] and the charge contains other observations to the same effect.

And it would be easy to produce from writings of about the same date expressions of extreme severity against all departure from the letter of the rubrics; while, if we compare that letter with the general practice of the time, it is evident that these denunciations must affect a large proportion of the clerical body.

To speak only of such things as are not uncommonly done by those who are accounted among the more regular of the clergy—perhaps most of us have to charge ourselves with having, at some time or other, deviated from what is said to be our duty in some of the following particulars:—Omitting the performance of daily service; omitting that part of the communion-office which is appointed to follow the sermon when there is no administration; celebrating the holy communion without setting two lights on the altar; omitting to give notice of holy-days and fasting-days; allowing the use of metrical psalms in our churches; wearing gowns in preaching; preaching at times for which

[3] Second edition, p. 31.

no sermon is prescribed; infrequency in public catechizing; using collects in the pulpit, before and after sermon; reading the whole of the marriage-service at the Lord's table, whereas it ought to be begun in the body of the church; marrying otherwise than in time of Divine service.

Some of these practices are against the plain letter of the rubric, while some are against what it is supposed to involve. And in mentioning these instances (to which others might easily be added), I have perhaps said enough to prove that almost all the present race of clergy are liable to be accused of inconformity; that the exact obedience which is sometimes spoken of as necessary, is, at the least, extremely rare.

And to this universal inconformity it is to be attributed, that while such language as that already quoted is held in various quarters, we find that the same authorities, when they come to speak in the way of practical direction, are disposed to make considerable allowances.

Thus, Sharp in many places admits of dispensations for various causes. Bishop Blomfield, instead of *enforcing* complete and immediate conformity, contents himself with *recommending* a gradual approximation. "It may," he says, "call for the exercise of a sound discretion in certain cases, as to the time and mode of bringing about an entire conformity of your practice in this respect with the letter of the law; but I cannot, as it appears to me, consistently with my duty, interpose any obstacles, nor offer any objections, to its being done" (p. 32). And Dr. Hook (whose great and various services to the English Church entitle him to our highest respect), although he appears in some of his writings to lay down a rule of undeviating adherence to the rubrics, speaks elsewhere in such terms as the following:—"A third party are of opinion, *to which I myself incline*, that they act in perfect consistency with their pledges, if they take things as they find them, merely guarding against further innovations;

and if, as occasion offers, they return more nearly to the practice of the Reformers, which, they rejoice to think, is the practice also of the primitive Church."[4]

Bishop Blomfield appears to feel a difficulty in giving directions, and to doubt whether the power vested in his office may be considered as extending so far as to authorize any deviation:—"Far from questioning the *right* of the clergy to observe the rubric in every particular, I know it to be their *duty:* and the only doubt is—how far are *we* [the bishops] justified in not *enforcing* such observance in every instance?"[5]

In another Charge of the same date, however, we find it laid down that the episcopal authority is fully sufficient in such matters. The responsibility for variations from the order of the Prayer-Book lies, according to Bishop Pepys, of Worcester, not on the parochial clergy, but on the bishops, who, being aware that such variations have obtained, may be considered to have sanctioned them by their silence;[6] and he thus explains his idea of the obligation to conformity —"When you sign a declaration that you will conform to the Book of Common Prayer, and to everything contained therein, you bind yourselves to use in general that form in the administration of the Church-services, rather than the Missal of the Roman Catholics on the one hand, or the Directory of the Puritans on the other; and not that you will with more than Chinese exactness make a point of conscience to adopt every expression, and implicitly to follow every direction therein contained, notwithstanding any changes which altered habits of life, or altered modes of thinking, may have rendered expedient" (p. 9).

Again, in the same charge, Paley's well-known argument about the meaning of subscription to Articles is thus applied to the case under consideration:—"No one who reads the history of those times with attention can doubt

[4] 'Call to Union,' first edition, p. 38; cf. 'Mutual Forbearance,' p. 13.
[5] Charge, 1842, p. 31.
[6] Charge, 1842, pp. 7-8.

that the object of the legislature, who imposed upon the clergy a subscription to the above declaration, was the substitution of the Book of Common Prayer for the Missal of the Roman Catholics, or the Directory of the Puritans" (p. 36).[7]

It is not easy, on this principle, to account for the repeated and very careful revisions[8] which have been bestowed on our service-book; as it would seem that any one fashion of the reformed Liturgy would have sufficiently and permanently answered the purpose which Bishop Pepys speaks of as the mind of the imposers. But indeed the Bishop's words appear to admit of deviations from the formulary to an extent of which it is difficult to understand the limits; certainly far beyond what would be considered safe by many whose opinions as to the duty of conformity are of no extreme strictness. And while, in this charge, it is taught that the silence of a diocesan is sufficient to authorise any notorious variation from the prescribed order, we find it more commonly held by writers of name, that "where the rubrics are plain and express, the ordinary has no authority to release any minister from that obedience which he owes the Church in what she commands in her rubrics." [9]

In this state of things, it appears desirable that the

[7] [Dr. Lee, in quoting this sentence through the medium of my second edition, has made the mistake of attributing it to Bishop Blomfield (Pref. to Directorium Anglicanum, p. 28); and in this he has been followed by Archdeacon Freeman (Rites and Ritual, p. 48).]

[8] The speed with which the Prayer-Book, at the last revision, was passed through Convocation—the fact that defects, and even something like inconsistencies, may be found in it—do not invalidate these words in the sense which was intended, viz., that great care was used at each revision to accommodate the book to the necessities of the time.

[9] Sharp, quoted in Bishop Mant's Prayer-Book (p. xxvii.), on the following words of the Preface—"For the resolution of all doubts concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this book, the parties that so doubt, or diversely take anything, shall resort to the Bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same; so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this book."

question of conformity should be deliberately considered, with a view to a right understanding of our engagements; and I shall here state the conclusion to which I have been led by a careful investigation, and which it is the object of the present work to establish :—

That the Book of Common Prayer is to be regarded as setting forth that which is for the present[10] the ideal of the Anglican system, rather than anything which has ever been generally realized; that while a conscientious clergyman will strive to realize it as fully as possible, he is not bound to put everything in practice at once, if there be difficulties in the way from prevailing notions and tempers, or from other circumstances of the time, but is at liberty to go to work gradually and cautiously; and that those who are over us in the Lord have an authority—(different, it is conceived, from that contemplated in the last-quoted Charge, but yet)—sufficient to warrant us in any such variations as do not contradict the spirit of the Prayer-Book; in variations which proceed, not from any unwillingness to conform, but from a desire to work prudently and effectually towards a conformity entire, general, and lasting.

A notion to this effect had grown up within my mind some years ago, while reading without any view to the present subject. The growth was almost insensible, nor did I become fully aware of my impressions, until, at a later time, I observed that an opposite interpretation began to be advocated with increasing frequency in publications of every kind; that the advocates of this more rigid system accustomed themselves to speak as if nothing could possibly be said against them in the way of argument; and that, in fact, however little their doctrine might be regarded in the

[10] The fact that the Church herself, in the Commination-service, acknowledges a want of discipline, and expresses a wish for its restoration, may be considered as a kind of sanction to my argument, that we are not bound, because something appears desirable in itself, to establish it forthwith, without regard to circumstances.

general practice, no formal attempt was made to refute it. Thus I was led to give the matter a degree of consideration which my immediate duties had not required me to bestow upon it. It occurred to me that I might do well, and even might be of service to others, by devoting some time to a full inquiry into the true principles on which obligations of this nature ought to be interpreted;[11] and before proceeding far I was much encouraged by finding that the very course which I had entered on—that of historical examination into the manner in which the orders of the Prayer-Book were formerly understood and obeyed—had been pointed out by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, as the surest way to a correct judgment in such cases. "Nothing," says that famous divine and casuist, "is more reasonable, in questions concerning the interpretation of a law, than to inquire how the practice of people was in times bygone; because what they did when the reason and sense of the law were best perceived, and what the lawgiver allowed them to do in the obedience of it, may best be supposed to be that which he intended."[12]

It is on evidence such as is here described that the argument to be maintained in the following pages is built. And before entering on the discussion, it may be well to premise that the matter of obligation will be here treated as one not of law but of conscience; for although it be true (as we are often reminded), that the Prayer-Book is annexed

[11] This inquiry was begun before any of the episcopal charges of 1842 had appeared.

[12] Works, xiv. 268. See also, as to the influence of *custom* in determining the observance of a law, ib. p. 54. [The principle of admitting usage as throwing light on the meaning of laws is found in the civil law (*e.g.* "Optima enim est legum interpres consuetudo," Digest. l. I. tit. iii. c. 37), and has been laid down in some of the recent judgments on ritual questions. A reviewer of the first edition of this book charged me with overlooking the distinction between the interpretation and the obligation of a law (Christian Remembrancer, Feb. 1844); but it can hardly be necessary to point out that the law which I purpose to interpret by history is the law of obligation.]

to an act of parliament, and that, consequently, every rubric has the authority of a statute, the real question is notoriously this—whether, at a time when there is no desire in any quarter to exact of us a perfect compliance with the law, we must regard ourselves as bound in conscience to comply with it in every particular.

It seems to be now very commonly assumed that at the time of its compilation, and of the revisions which it afterwards underwent, the Prayer-Book of each date was at once fully put in force; as if there were no hindrance from existing prejudices or any other circumstances, or as if, at least, no allowance were made for such impediments; as if the simple issuing of a book forthwith established in every place of worship throughout the land all the order and beauty which the system of our Church prescribes or allows. A glance at the Church's history will show that such an assumption is somewhat rash; and this general view may serve as a preparation for the consideration of details which is to follow.

I. The first English Prayer-Book was set forth in 1549; the second, in 1552. This latter, as is well known, was more agreeable than the earlier to the principles of the foreign Reformed, and of those who afterwards became known at home as Puritans. Among the changes were, the omission of some vestments which had been retained before, and the substitution of the surplice as the only attire to be worn by priests and deacons in their public ministration.

We find, however, that while the first book was still in force, the *copes*, which were vestments prescribed by it to be used at the administration of the holy communion, were taken away from Westminster Abbey by an order of the council;[13] and that during Edward's reign, the offices of the Church, including the celebration of the Lord's Supper,

[13] Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 238.

were very commonly performed by ministers who wore only their ordinary dress.[14] No one, of course, would wish to bring back such a state of matters; but it is plain from these circumstances, that the first compilers of our Book allowed people to do things very inconsistent with that rigid interpretation of the ordination-vow which some would now force upon us. For be it observed that the pledge already quoted was in our Ordinal from the first.[15]

II. The English Liturgy was suppressed during the reign of Queen Mary, which ended in November, 1558. On the Feast of St. John the Baptist in the following year, a new service-book, somewhat less unlike than that of 1552 to the first Liturgy of King Edward, came into force by act of parliament. In it was the following rubric, which with slight variations is still found in our Prayer-Book:

> "The Minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his Ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth."[16]

[14] Sampson and Humphrey to Bullinger, July, 1566. (Zurich Letters, published by the Parker Society, No. 71, App. p. 94.) "Quod addis, rem vestiariam ab initio reformationis non fuisse abolitam, . . . in eo nostri minimè vera retulerunt. Multis enim in locis, serenissimi regis Edvardi VI. temporibus, absque superpelliceo cœna Domini purè celebrabatur."—Similar practices are, it appears, not uncommon among the more liberal of the clergy in Roman Catholic Germany at this day. (Guéranger, Institutions Liturgiques, ii. 707.)

[15] The Ordination-services were first published separately in March, 1549-50, and were annexed to the Prayer-Book in 1552. (Cardwell's Liturgies of Edw. VI. p. xviii.; Keeling, vi.) [A complaint of Hooper, Dec. 27, 1549 (Epp. Tigur. 46), that various points of the Roman ritual were kept up under the first Prayer-Book, has sometimes been quoted as if it implied that such things were consistent with the Prayer-Book. But this is evidently contrary to Hooper's intention; and the authorities afterwards took measures against the reactionary party, by which the things in question were done. See the article on Ultra-Ritualism.]

[16] Keeling, p. 3.

This seemed to revive the obligation of the second and third orders of clergy to wear copes, vestments, and albes, and to make it the duty of every bishop, "Whensoever he should celebrate the holy communion in the Church, or execute any other public ministration,"—to "have upon him, beside his rochette, a surplice or albe, and a cope or vestment, and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain." [17]

Let us see, then, how the revivers of this law set about observing it.

Parker, who, although obliged by illness to be absent from London during the revision, had borne an important share in the work by correspondence with the other commissioners, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in December, 1559. The record of his consecration informs us that no pastoral staff was delivered to him; [18] and it is

[17] Keeling, p. 357.

[18] Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. 246. The circumstance appears to be mentioned for the sake of marking the difference between the consecration of Parker and that of former bishops. The delivery of the staff had been prescribed in the Ordinal of 1550, but omitted in that of 1552, which was reprinted in 1559; and the general rubric as to ornaments would not apply to this, inasmuch as March, 1550, was later than the second year of King Edward. (Gibson, Codex, p. 117. See Whitgift, ed. Park. Soc. i. 488.) The omission of the staff at Parker's consecration, however, is less important than the conclusion, which appears to be safe, that from that time it has been generally disused in those functions for which the rubric of Edward's second year, as revived by that of 1559, prescribed it. This is the irregularity which has led me to notice the subject. It is hardly necessary to point out that the passages in the 'Hierurgia Anglicana' (pp. 82 89), which speak of mitres, crosiers, &c., as carried at the funerals of bishops and represented on their tombs, can prove nothing as to actual use of these ornaments. The only instance which has any show of reality is "the crosier or pastoral crook of Archbishop Laud," which is preserved at Oxford (p. 83); and as to this we learn from other quarters that it is of Queen Mary's time, and that there is no ground for connecting Laud's name with it (Parker's Handbook for Oxford; cf. Pugin, Glossary of Ornament, 191). [A section of the nonjurors, of which the last bishop, Charles Boothe, died in 1805, is said to have used a crosier, which Mr. Perceval describes as being in the possession of John Crossley, Esq., of Scaitcliffe, near Todmorden (Apol. for Apostolical Succession, ed. 2, p. 249); and the reader

very doubtful whether any instance of the use of that ornament by an English archbishop or bishop can be produced between the end of Mary's reign and our own days. And further, one of the consecrators, Coverdale, wore only a long cloth gown ("Non nisi toga lanea talari utebatur," Doc. Ann. i. 245); which inconformity, although his poverty, and his resolution not again to undertake episcopal duties, may be pleaded for it, seems in truth to have been the result of a puritanical principle, and yet to have been for some reason borne with by the new primate. This is the more remarkable because Cranmer, a man whose eyes were much less open than Parker's to the danger of foreign and puritanical notions, had refused to consecrate Hooper unless on condition of his wearing the episcopal dress.

To Archbishop Parker, above all other human instruments, the preservation of our Church from puritanism is due. With very little support, for the most part, either from the ministers of state [19] or from his brother-bishops, he toiled vigorously to keep down the spirit of nonconformity, and his whole life was disquieted by contests with the "Germanical natures" [20] of those whose notions had been formed, whether at home or in exile, after the model of foreign discipline and confessions.

That the system of the Prayer-Book could have been fully carried out in those days, will not be imagined by any one who will consider the great lack of clergymen, which led to the ordination of many illiterate persons,[21] to

is probably aware that within the last ten years pastoral staves have been presented to some bishops, both colonial and English.]

[19] In fact some, as Leicester and Knolles, were bitterly opposed to his views; Cecil and Walsingham often discouraged him. (Keble, Pref. to Hooker, p. lvii.) He writes to Cecil, just before his death, that "the puritans had a strong party at court; that the Queen was almost the only person that stood firm to the Church," &c. (Collier, ii. 548.)

[20] Strype, Parker, p. 78.

[21] *e.g.* Protestation to be subscribed by ministers, 1559:—"I shall not covetously use open mechanical labour or occupation, *if my living be twenty nobles a-year.*" (Strype, Ann. i. 151.) A Catechism is to be drawn up

the allowing the service to be read by laymen, and the frequent union of several parishes under one "principal incumbent," who was represented in each by deacons or lay readers.[22] Deacons were then allowed to hold cure of souls, although the commission given to that order of ministers was of no greater extent than it now is.[23] Bishops were often either strongly puritanical themselves, or inclined to encourage puritans.[24] Beza, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and other foreigners, were regarded by many eminent English churchmen as the highest theological authorities, and indeed were generally less immoderate in their judgment than those who appealed to them. Great irregularities were everywhere committed; and the Archbishop was content to press for a very partial obedience to the laws of the Church, with but little success in obtaining even that.

III. His successor, Grindal, (1575-1583,) had been an exile in Mary's reign, and leant decidedly towards puritanism. The puritanical party now felt itself greatly strengthened by having a friend in the most eminent place among the bishops, which had hitherto been occupied by a

"for the erudition of simple curates;" and it appears that Nowell's Catechism was to be learnt by the London clergy (Cartwright, ap. Whitgift, i. 336, ed. Park. Soc.). Archdeacons are to set texts of the New Testament for curates to learn, and are to hear them at visitations (Doc. Ann. i. 204); and this order is repeated in the Canons of 1571. (Synodalia, 117.) Lever writes to Bullinger, July 10, 1560:—"Ex illis valde paucis qui per magnam hanc regionem sacramenta administrant, ne centesimus quidem verbum Dei prædicare potest et vult; sed tantum legere quod in libris [the Prayer-Book and Homilies] præscribitur omnes coguntur." (Zurich Letters, No. 35.) The unpreaching class of clergy seems to have continued to the time of the Great Rebellion (Bramhall, iii. 508, 580), and even after the Restoration (Eachard, Contempt of the Clergy, in Works, i. 98, ed. 1774).

[22] Strype, Parker, 65. [23] Gibson, Codex, 848.

[24] See, for example (in Strype, Ann. ii. 90), the orders issued for Northampton, in 1571, by Bp. Scambler, a man infamous as having earned a translation to Norwich "ob insigne suum meritum in dilapidandis episcopatibus," *i.e.* by conniving at the alienation of their property to laymen. (Godwin de Præsulibus, ed. Richardson, p. 559.) See, too, Bp. Pilkington's Works, (Park. Soc.), and the account of him in Collier, Eccl. Hist. ii. 494.

formidable enemy; and, of course, entire conformity was more distant than ever.

IV. Under Whitgift, things took another turn. He pressed the subscription of the article, afterwards incorporated in our xxxvith canon, which was quoted in the beginning of this essay; he exacted conformity with a strictness before unknown — unknown, *i.e.*, while the framers of the service-book themselves lived to govern the Church; and in this course he was followed by his successor, Bancroft (1604), to whom is ascribed the chief share in drawing up the canons of 1604.[25] "Bancroft's unrelenting strictness," writes Collier, "gave a new face to religion; the Liturgy was more solemnly officiated; the fasts and festivals were better observed; the use of copes was revived, and the surplice generally worn, and all things in a manner recovered to the first settlement under Queen Elizabeth [*i.e.* the practice was brought near to the theory of that system]. Some who had formerly subscribed in a loose reserved sense, were now called upon to sign their conformity in more close unevasive terms. For now the xxxvith canon obliged them to declare that they did 'willingly *et ex animo* subscribe the three articles,[26] and all things contained in the same,' so that now there was no room left for scruples and different persuasion."

We shall, however, see reason to think that the conformity of Bancroft's time fell considerably short of what some interpreters of our obligations would now insist on.

V. Archbishop Bancroft died in 1610; and "with him," says Heylyn, "died the uniformity of the Church of England."[27] The character of Archbishop Abbot's government (1611-1633) may be traced in the history of his successor, Laud, and other bishops of Charles the First's

[25] Collier, ii. 687.

[26] These were:—1. An acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. 2. That quoted in p. 2. 3. Profession of belief agreeable to the XXXIX. Articles of Religion.

[27] Life of Laud, 59.

reign. While their attempts at a reform drew on them violent charges of innovation, they were able to appeal to rubrics, canons, and ancient custom; but they found against them the custom of many later years—the fruit of Abbot's long inattention to discipline and order.

It is not, however, to be denied that Archbishop Laud's system was in some respects different from the letter of that prescribed in Queen Elizabeth's Prayer-Book,—far as that letter exceeded the actual practice of the time which had elapsed since its first publication; and this difference was not of sudden growth, but was the result of a gradual change. No one who is at all acquainted with the writings of the Reformers can fail to perceive in the great work of Hooker, which was published within the last years of the sixteenth century, a vast advance in church principle beyond the Theology in which that illustrious writer had been trained up; and in nothing is the difference more strongly marked than in his tone on ritual and ceremonial matters. It appears that his views became more developed in the direction opposite to puritanism, even while he was engaged on the 'Ecclesiastical Polity;'[28] and we cannot know how much further he may have gone in that last part of his labours which has unhappily been lost; still less can we venture to decide what might have been his most matured opinions, had he not been removed from the Church on earth at the age of forty-six.

The most eminent divine of the time between Hooker's death and the ascendancy of Laud, was Andrewes, who, unlike the author of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' possessed, in addition to the influence of his character and writings, that which is derived from eminent and authoritative station; since he held, at various times, the mastership of a college, the deaneries of Westminster and the Chapel-royal, and the bishopricks of Chichester (1605), Ely (1609), and Winchester (1619). There was a very general expec-

[28] See Keble, Pref. p. lxxi.

tation that he would be translated from Ely to Canterbury, as the successor of Bancroft; and to the preference of Abbot has been attributed that growth of nonconformity which led to the Great Rebellion.[29] Laud always professed to take Andrewes for his model; Wren, who, on account of his strictness in pressing conformity, was the most unpopular of the Archbishop's coadjutors, had served under Andrewes as chaplain.

It is to this eminent prelate, chiefly, that we must trace those ideas of ritual propriety which met with so much opposition, when in Laud's primacy an attempt was made to act on them. His notes on the Common Prayer[30] contain directions for a worship more ceremonious than that which was made matter of outcry against the bishops of Charles the First's time, and it appears that his own chapel was ordered accordingly; his forms for the consecration of a church[31] and of church-plate were followed with very little

[29] Clarendon, ed. 1839, p. 38; Heylyn's Laud, p. 59.

[30] These were first printed in the Appendix to Nicholls' Commentary, [and have been carefully edited in the Anglo-Catholic Library edition of Andrewes' Works (vol. xi. pp. 141-158)]. It is to be remembered that the notes were evidently not intended for publication, and that the writer has not explained the object with which they were made. They are, therefore, to be read with caution, lest we should suppose that to express his rule of practice under the existing Prayer-Book of his time, which may perhaps be a suggestion for the improvement of the book, or possibly may be nothing more than a memorandum of some point which had struck him in the corresponding part of another Liturgy.

[31] See his Works, vi. 309. It is also in Sparrow's Collection, and in the late edition of his 'Rationale.' The form for the consecration of church-plate is in Andrewes, xi. 159. Laud denies the use of those superstitious ceremonies which make so great a figure in the popular histories. (Troubles, 340.) That some of them are prescribed in the Roman Pontifical, may perhaps account sufficiently for his being charged with these by his enemies, while others seem to have been purely imaginary. Sancroft, at a later day, incurred much obloquy by consecrating plate. (Life of Kettlewell, p. 56.) In the Hierurgia Anglicana may be found instances of consecrating vestments, fonts, &c. The editors, however, have made the mistake of including two extracts (p. 80), in which it is evident that *hallowing the font* means nothing more than the first part of the baptismal service. Among the earlier Reformed, Laud shows (Troubles, 341-465) that Parker

(if any) alteration in those ceremonies which became the occasion of unmeasured complaint and slander against Laud; and to his influence are referred the rules for the celebration of Divine service during Prince Charles's residence at Madrid (1623), of which a part may be here quoted.

(1.) "That there be one convenient room appointed for prayer; the said room to be employed, during their abode, to no other use.

(2.) "That it be decently adorned chapel-wise, with an altar, fonts,[32] palls, linen coverings, demycarpets, four surplices, candlesticks, tapers, chalices, patens, a fine towel for the Prince, other towels for the household,[33] a traverse of waters for the communion, a bason and flagons, and two copes.

(3.) "That prayers be duly kept twice a-day; that all reverence be used by every one present, being uncovered, kneeling at due times, standing up at the creeds and gospel, bowing at the Name of Jesus.

disapproved only of Romish superstitions used at consecration of churches, not of the rite itself; and Ridley's words (p. 55, ed. 1841) seem capable of a like construction. Pilkington is thoroughly puritanical on the subject (p. 64), as are also Becon (ii. 320) and Calfhill (Answer to Martial, 131, 208-210, ed. Park. Soc.). I need hardly refer to Hooker, v. 12. There is a good deal of rather unseemly merriment about the Roman ceremonies of dedication in the sermon preached by Prideaux, afterwards bishop of Worcester, at the consecration of Exeter College Chapel, 1624 (§ 8).

[32] Perhaps we ought to read *fronts*. "Parafronts and suffronts" were among the articles of altar-furniture which Laud was charged with introducing as novelties.

[33] These towels may perhaps imply that the hands were to be washed before receiving the consecrated elements. Andrewes himself washed his hands when about to administer at the dedication of Jesus Chapel. There is, however, another use of towels prescribed in the rubric of the Roman Missal, x. 6:—"Minister ante eos [communicandos] extendet linteum." (See a woodcut after an old drawing, in Dr. Rock's Hierurgia, ii. 258; also Cærimoniale Episcoporum, p. 221.) This custom is noticed by Evelyn as retained in Charles II.'s chapel at Paris:—"The King and the Duke received the Sacrament first by themselves, the Lords Byron and Wilmot holding the long towel all along the altar" (Diary, Christmas-day, 1651); [and it is said to have been used at Coronations down to that of George IV., Hier. Angl. 301, 303, 333; Directorium Anglic. 232].

(4.) "That the communion be celebrated in due form, with an oblation of every communicant, and admixing water with the wine; the communion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down; smooth wafers to be used for the bread."[34]

Laud and Wren, in fact, do not appear to have had any notions more extreme than those of Andrewes; but there can be little doubt that, if that wise bishop had been raised to the primacy when Laud was, he would have taken a different way of bringing the face of the Church to agree with his ideas from that pursued by his less discreet admirers. It by no means follows, from his having drawn up the rules just quoted, with a view of producing an opinion favourable to the English Church among a people devotedly attached to the Romish worship, ceremonious even in their common life, and prejudiced against our Reformation by the most extravagant fables,[35] that he would have attempted to establish a similar form of worship as general in a land where the wiser heads had come to understand the indifferency of some things, while the prejudices of the multitude were all in favour of Puritanism. Nay, it will rather appear likely that he may have erred in an opposite direction, if we may believe what is stated of him by Fuller,[36] that—"Wheresoever he was a parson, a dean, or a bishop, he never troubled parish, college, or diocese, with pressing other ceremonies on them than such which he found used there before his coming thither."

[34] Collier, ii. 726. In the event, it was found impossible to carry out the scheme for public services at Madrid, although the prince appears to have had regular "bed-chamber prayers," according to the English form. See Howell's Letters, ed. 9, p. 140.

[35] See, for instances of foreign prejudices, Heylyn's Laud, p. 105; and Hackett's account of Archbishop Williams entertaining an ambassador. (Life of Williams, Pt. I. p. 210.) For a Spanish view of the history, Calderon's play, 'La Cisma de Inglaterra.' (No. 85 in Keil's edition.) [In Mr. Crabb Robinson's 'Diary,' &c. (London, 1869) it is said that Spanish women, in the beginning of the present century, used the name of Anne Boleyn to frighten their children.]

[36] Ch. Hist. b. xi. p. 127.

Indeed, Laud himself seems to have been exceeded by some of his friends. "The compliancy of many, to curry favour," says Bishop Hackett, "did outrun the Archbishop's intentions, if my opinion deceive me not."[37] In a Scotch Presbyterian tract[38] it is said that "the great doctor of all church-ceremonies [doubtless Laud] protested, he was more troubled with the too much conformableness of some than with the nonconformableness of the others." And he himself tells us[39] that his own articles of inquiry were not excepted against, while he was treated as if accountable for those of Bishops Wren and Montagu.

The chief points objected to in the reforms of Laud and his associates—(besides doctrinal and political offences, which are foreign to the present inquiry)—were such as these: The placing the communion table (which had before stood in the body of the church, or in the middle of the chancel) close to the east wall, with its ends north and south, "altar-wise;" adorning it with various furniture which was supposed to savour of Popery; guarding it by erecting a rail in front; ordering that the elements for consecration should be set on it by the priest's own hands; meddling with the height and disposition of the pews; ordering that the part of the communion-service which is appointed for times when there is no administration, should be read at the altar, and not in the desk; using and enforcing reverences and gestures which appeared novel; enforcement of the surplice as the garment to be used in preaching; restraint of pulpit-prayers, and diminution of sermons. I do not inquire at present whether the conduct of those who endured persecution for having adopted such measures was in all things wise, and a fit model for our imitation;[40] but shall only observe, that here, where there

[37] Life of Williams, p. 100. [38] Harleian Misc. iv. 427, 8vo. ed.

[39] Troubles, p. 345.

[40] The opinion of a very acute contemporary is worth quoting:—"The bishops were too hasty, else with a discreet slowness they might have had

certainly was something of that attention to things not ordered in the Prayer-Book which Fuller calls *sesquiconformity*[41]—here, if anywhere, we might expect to find the example of that exact conformity, in all things to which the rules of the Prayer-Book extend, which is now spoken of as necessary to the fulfilment of our obligations; and that I believe it is not to be found here; not even in the practice of Montagu and Wren, much less in that of Laud.

In the year 1637, an unsuccessful attempt was made to introduce a liturgy into Scotland.[42] It was considered desirable, as an acknowledgment of the northern Church's independence, that the service-book should be somewhat different from that of England; and in the variations we may see, partly the wishes of those who thought with Laud, whether English or Scottish; partly the tradition of England as to the manner of Divine service, expressly set down in a book intended for a country where there was no tradition to direct the clergy in officiating according to the liturgy.

Before leaving this part of the history, we may notice a remarkable community of the time. Nicholas Ferrar, born in 1593, after having studied at Cambridge, having travelled much, and distinguished himself by his share in the management of the great Virginian Company, at the time of those struggles against the Court which ended in its dissolution, retired, about the thirty-second year of his age, to Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire; where thenceforward he devoted himself, along with his mother and other members of his family, to the service of God in prayers, works of mercy, and other holy exercises. Although it does not appear that Ferrar was connected with the

what they aimed at. The old story of the fellow that told the gentleman, he might get to such a place if he did not ride too fast, might have served their turn." (Selden, Table-talk, Art. *Bishops*.)

[41] "Worthies," Gloucestershire, p. 360.

[42] [For an account of this, see an article by Professor Bright, in the 'Annotated Prayer-Book,' pp. 580 *et seqq*.]

school of Laud,[43] beyond having been ordained deacon by him in 1626, at the recommendation of a common friend, the circumstances of his life and character have made him a favourite with many who represent themselves as disciples of that school; and for this reason we shall sometimes refer to his practice.

VI. If our obligations to conformity were such as some writers would have us believe, it is plain that no circumstances could warrant us in consenting to suppress any part of the Liturgy, or to use any other form. If the enemies of the Church should attain power to order the abolition of the book, it would be our duty still to read it as before, to incur all penalties rather than vary from it, to prefer a daily use or remembrance of it in a prison to the opportunity of ministering at liberty to our brethren without, on condition of using a different order of prayer.

The divines of Charles the First's day judged otherwise. Sanderson, the most eminent casuist of the age, has left us a tract on 'Submission to Usurpers,' in which he gives an account of his own practice during the ascendancy of the sectaries, and justifies it by argument. We learn from this

[43] He "professed that he did as verily believe the Pope to be Anti-Christ as any article of his creed." (Wordsw. Eccl. Biog. iv. 245.) An opposite opinion was charged on the Archbishop's friends as a novelty. (See Laud, Troubles, p. 389.) Fox's Book of Martyrs—a work little esteemed by Laud, since a want of love for it was one of the charges brought against him—was read aloud during dinner at Gidding. (E. B. iv. 180.) When a pamphlet with the title of 'The Arminian Nunnery' appeared in 1642, founded on a perversion of a private letter in which a Mr. Lenton had some years before related a visit to the society, Lenton wrote an indignant disavowal of all connexion with the publication; and in this he seems to say that he had never written anything to warrant the charge of Arminianism against the Ferrars—by which, no doubt, it was intended to connect them with the Primate, then under persecution. (Ib. 241-2.) Ferrar appears to have been on good terms with his diocesan, Williams, Laud's great rival; and he varied from the Archbishop's order as to some of his church-furniture. An account of the present state of Little Gidding may be found in No. I. of the Cambridge Camden Society's Transactions. [See Carlyle's 'Cromwell,' i. 108-9, ed. 1; 'Two Lives of N. Ferrar,' edited by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1855.]

tract that he varied from the exact form of the Prayer-Book. When accused to the authorities, he resolved to forbear the use of it so as to satisfy the letter of the ordinance against it, rather than forsake his station. He used some things, *e.g.* the *Te Deum*, "only when I think the auditory will bear it," (p. 9)—"if I like my auditory" (p. 10). Laws, he holds, are not to be observed when "by reason of the conjuncture of circumstances, or the iniquity of the times,—(contingencies which no lawgiver could either certainly foresee, or, if foreseen, sufficiently provide against)—the observation would rather be prejudicial than advantageous to the public, or is manifestly attended with such inconveniences and sad consequents to the observers, as all the imaginable good, that can redound to the public thereby, cannot in any reasonable measure countervail" (p. 16). It is, he tells us, "generally resolved by casuists," that obedience may, in some circumstances, be dispensed with, *extra casum scandali et contemptus.*[44] The public good is the object to be kept in view: private interest is to be regarded only in so far as it is consistent with this. By suffering for over-nice scruples, he considers, "we may lose much of that comfort which a Christian confessor can take in his sufferings, when they are laid upon him by the hand of God, and not pulled upon himself by his own hands."[45] One of the objections discussed in the tract is,—that scandal may be given by forbearing (p. 25); and Sanderson's answer to this might suffice for us, if, in our case, the scandal were not risked rather by insisting on exact conformity than by forbearance. His four rules as to scandal deserve serious attention, and are so apposite to our subject, that I shall quote them:—

1. "Do nothing that is evil for fear of giving scandal.

[44] p. 19, and Pref. to Sermons, p. 72; cf. Taylor, Ductor Dubit. b. iii. c. 4, rule 18.

[45] This observation is not without its use in our own day.

2. "Do nothing, good or evil, with an intention to give scandal.

3. "Do nothing, that may be reasonably forborne, whereat scandal will be taken.

4. "Order the doing of that which may not be well left undone, in such sort that no scandal (so far as you can help it) may be taken thereat."[46]

Bishop Taylor, in the same evil days, drew up a set of offices, intended to serve instead of the forbidden Liturgy; and this practice is in accordance with the principles which he afterwards set forth in his elaborate work on the 'Rule of Conscience.'[47] Of Hammond, we are told by Fell,[48] that although no "consideration that terminated on himself" could "have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous injunction" [by which the ministrations of the clergy were forbidden in 1655], yet "charity to the family where he was made him content to admit of an expedient that secured all real duties, whilst he for some short time forbore that attendance on the altar which was the very joy of his life." A similar compliance was adopted by Bishop Bull, who was ordained during the usurpation,[49] and by Sherlock, author of the 'Practical Christian;'[50] and it would seem, from the autobiography of Patrick,[51] that Bishop Hall in those days conferred holy orders without requiring a pledge that the receiver would use any particular form of service.[52]

[46] pp. 30-34. There is, however, a letter of Thorndike to Sheldon, in disapproval of Sanderson's practice. He admits that the circumstances of the time might justify the omission of some part of the Church-services, but censures the substitution of any other prayers, as being "directly against the negative command which prescribes this and no other." Works, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. vi. 116-9.

[47] Book iii. c. 6. [48] Eccl. Biog. iv. 343. [49] Life, by Nelson, p. 33.

[50] p. xxix. ed. 1841. [51] pp. 23 and 39.

[52] Evelyn's Diary contains much information as to the state of religion during the usurpation. He appears to have usually attended service at parish-churches, in which he sometimes found orthodox ministers. On Advent-Sunday, 1654, he writes:—"There being no office at the church, but extempore prayers after the Presbyterian way—(for now all forms were

VII. At the Restoration of the royal family, the Liturgy was again reviewed. In the commission originally entrusted with this work, we find the names of Cosin, Sanderson, Stern, Heylyn, Gunning, Pearson, Sparrow, and Thorndike,—men who are certainly free from all imputation of Puritan, Latitudinarian, or Erastian principles. The commissioners failed, indeed, in the especial object for which they had been appointed—that, namely, of arranging a form in which the Presbyterian party might agree with them; but it was through their influence that the book became what it is, when the revision was executed in Convocation; and further, we find among the most active members of that assembly the names of Wren and Pierce, lately restored to the bishopricks in which they had before the rebellion attempted to carry out the principles of Laud, with that of Nicholson, the author of valuable expositions of our Church's doctrine, the associate of Taylor, and patron of Bull.[53]

prohibited, and most of the preachers were usurpers)—I seldom went to church on solemn feasts, but either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestered divines did privately use the Common Prayer, administer sacraments, &c.; or else I procured one to officiate at my house." 1655, Apr. 15.—"I went to London to celebrate the feast of Easter. Dr. Wild [formerly one of Laud's chaplains, afterwards Bishop of Derry] preached at St. Gregory's; the ruling powers conniving at the use of the Liturgy, &c., in this church alone." In the same year, however, came out "the Protector's edict, prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching, or teaching any schools." (Nov. 27.) Their ministrations were thenceforth usually confined to private houses. On Christmas-day, 1657, Evelyn and others were arrested while attending the administration of the Holy Communion, by Gunning, at Exeter House. He speaks, however, at a later time, of sermons preached in churches by episcopal divines. [See also Archdeacon Churton's Life of Pearson, prefixed to Pearson's Minor Works, pp. xxix. *seqq.*]

[53] The Bodleian Library contains a very curious monument of this time,—a folio Prayer-Book, printed in 1634, with suggested alterations in the handwriting of Sancroft, who at the time of the revision was chaplain to Bishop Cosin, [and the Oxford notes are said to be a fair copy of Cosin's suggestions, which are preserved in a volume at Durham. (Blunt's Annotated Prayer-Book, xli.)]. Although most of the alterations were adopted by Convocation, it will be seen, by a reference to Dr. Cardwell's

We owe to these last revisers a debt of thanks for restoring many things which had long been wanting, and for prescribing by express rule some which had before rested only on the sanction of custom; and I can see no good objection to the opinion "that if the meaning of any set of individuals is to be considered as authoritative in the interpretation" of the Prayer-Book, "the divines of 1660 surely have the fairest claim."[54] But while we draw this conclusion against some, who would deny the title of faithful churchmen to persons whose opinions agree with Cosin and the others just mentioned, rather than with Cranmer and Jewel, or Hooper and Pilkington, we must, as against another party, maintain the further inference, that, if a committee composed in so large a degree of Divines who had borne a part in the "Development of the Church in the seventeenth century,"[55] was content with our present Book, we need not complain of it as insufficient, unless we be willing to profess ourselves advocates of a further "development," for which the sanction of their names cannot be pretended; and that if, in that time of triumph, they held it wisdom to refrain from changes and restorations more agreeable to the first Book of Edward the Sixth, or to still earlier formularies, it is pretty certain that had they lived in the circumstances of our own day they would not have advised the introduction or revival of such things.[56]

Conferences, pp. 388-391, that some of the things which our extreme churchmen most insist on, were absolutely rejected. [A comparison with Sparrow's 'Rationale,' will show that Cosin's authority in the revision was controlled in many points by that of Sparrow, who seems, from coincidences not only of opinion but of language, to have also had much influence on the answer of the episcopal party to the objections of the nonconformists at the Savoy Conference.]

[54] Pref. to Froude's Remains, Part II. p. xxiii.

[55] This is the title of an article in the British Critic for October, 1842, which is meant as a reply to the Quarterly Review for March of the same year.

[56] Mr. Hallam, in his Constitutional History, has repeated a statement

of Burnet's (Own Time, i. 184) in a style which seems intended to reflect strongly on the revisers as having acted foolishly and wantonly:—"The puritans having always objected to the number of Saints'-days, the bishops added a few more; and the former having given very plausible reasons against the apocryphal lessons in the daily service, the others inserted the legend of Bel and the Dragon, for no other purpose than to show contempt of their scruples." (ii. 35.) It is to be observed, however, in general vindication of the revisers, that all hope of bringing the presbyterians to conform was at an end before the alterations were made, and, consequently, there was no great reason for regarding their scruples in drawing up offices for the Church. There was, properly speaking, no increase of saints'-days, the only difference being, that the festivals of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, for which the Prayer-Book had previously appointed special services, were now put on the same *legal* footing with the rest (see p. 46). And even in behalf of the apocryphal lesson (however little we may approve of the change) it may be said that it was not wholly new to the Liturgy, but (under the title of the xivth chapter of Daniel) had been read until the time of the Hampton Court Conference.

PART II.

THE QUESTION IN DETAIL.

We may now go on to consider in detail a few of the points as to ritual which are at present subjects of doubt or controversy; not confining ourselves to the Prayer-Book, but taking a view also of certain things which are insisted on by some Churchmen as having other authority of a nature to oblige us, and occasionally noticing matters of which I am enabled to offer some illustration, although the main question of principle be not involved in them. And if any reader should be disposed to wonder at the bestowal of time and pains on subjects so utterly trifling as some of those which are to be discussed, or at the gravity with which they are treated, let him remember that there are persons whose hearts are stirred to their profoundest depths by questions of vesture and gesture; that even the governors of the Church have found it necessary to give some directions for the sake of easing the consciences of such persons; and that no labour, however humble, can be misapplied, which tends to clear the ground for worthier things by doing away with what are felt, whether rightly or wrongly, to be hindrances.

I.

Daily Service.

It is ordered in the preface to the Prayer-Book that

> "All priests and deacons are to say daily the morning and evening prayer, either privately or openly,

not being let by sickness, or some other urgent cause;

"And the curate that ministereth in every parish church or chapel, being at home, and not being otherwise reasonably hindered, shall say the same in the parish church or chapel where he ministereth, and shall cause a bell to be tolled thereunto, a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's word, and to pray with him."

One of the 'Tracts for the Times' (No. 84) is devoted to an inquiry "whether a clergyman of the Church of England be now bound to have morning and evening prayers daily in his parish church?" It would seem that the writer intended an affirmative answer. He does not, however, expressly give it himself, and the passages collected by him point rather, in my opinion, to an answer in the negative. There, are, however, other zealous persons who do not hesitate to say boldly that we *are* bound; and there are also those who hold very opposite views. Thus Mr. Bickersteth, in his sermon preached before the Protestant Association, Nov. 5, 1842, appears to be of opinion that it is better to cultivate the exercise of family prayer only, and to shun the revival of daily service, lest it should encourage formalism, which he seems to regard as equally sure to corrupt public devotions, and to spare those of a household. But, even on Mr. Bickersteth's supposition that family prayer was a thing unknown in the age of the Reformation—(which, however, is contradicted by the fact that forms of prayer for family use were annexed to the older editions of the Liturgy from the time of Edward VI.)[1] —it might be observed, that if we must choose between the two kinds, the daily public service is commended to us by the Church, and would therefore, if for no other

[1] Strype's Parker, 84. Family prayers of that age may be found in the Liturgies of Elizabeth, edited by Mr. Clay for the Parker Society, pp. 252, 258, &c.

reason, seem the better to dutiful Churchmen; and further, that the one kind need by no means exclude the other.[2]

Another reason for dispensing with the daily service is given by Bishop Pepys, in his Charge of 1842. It was, we are told (pp. 15-16), prescribed at the Reformation, on account of the ignorance of the clergy, "that they might thereby acquire a competent knowledge of the Holy Scriptures;" and as this purpose is now attained by other means, it is argued that we may fairly discard those which the Reformers ordained. But although the purpose here spoken of was sometimes named in the sixteenth century, as a reason for reading the daily offices,[3] it seems to be forgotten in this argument that the Prayer-Book has since passed through the hands of revisers, who would probably have expunged this direction, as a witness to a bygone discreditable state of things, had they not seen in the daily service some advantage besides that of improving the minister's familiarity with the Scriptures.[4] And when Bishop Pepys

[2] Archbishop Leighton, in his Charge, 1662, recommends "that daily public prayer in churches, morning and evening, with reading of the Scriptures, be used where it can be had conveniently, and the people be exhorted to frequent them; not so as to think that this should excuse them from daily private prayer in their families and in secret, but rather as a help, to enable and dispose them the more for both these." (Works, ed. Pearson, iv. 396.) The fact that the Scottish Church in those days did not use a set form of service, in no way affects this part of the present question.

[3] See Parkhurst's Injunctions for Norwich, 1561 (No. 2), in the Second Report of the Ritual Commission, p. 401; and the Orders of 1585, quoted below, p. 38.

[4] In the original preface to the Prayer-Book, there are some observations (which have disappeared since the last review) about "profit in knowledge" to be obtained by "daily reading upon the book." These, however, do not appear to be exactly what Bishop Pepys intends, and very possibly they may not have been in his mind. I may notice, in passing, that this and other passages in the preface are evidently borrowed from that of Cardinal Quignonez' Reformed Breviary, published in 1535. (See his preface in Guéranger, 'Institutions,' i. 401.) A notion akin to that in question is exposed by Nicholls in his comment on the place, and by L'Estrange (p. 27), who adds:—"I rather think the Church's policy was, the better to inure and habituate the clergy to their religious duties." [Since my former editions, the obligations of our Prayer-Book to Quignonez

argues further, that "The preface directs that all priests and deacons are to say daily the morning and evening prayer, either *privately* or openly; it is clear, therefore, that the option is afforded them" (p. 15);—we are forced to suppose that he must have overlooked that part of the preface which relates to *curates*, i.e. clergymen having cure of souls.[5]

Let me state clearly that I am fully convinced of the desirableness of daily public prayer, and rejoice to think that our people are becoming prepared for it, and that it is growing more general. In what follows, I only wish to establish on historical evidence the principle that we are at liberty to use caution and consult expediency in striving after the fulfilment of our Church's intentions in this respect.

Daily prayer was, indeed, once far more common than it now is. The list of services in the London churches a century ago (printed in Tract 84), is enough to shame our days greatly; and in reading of former times, we often meet incidentally with notices which shew that the daily service was used in many places where it has since been discontinued. Too much, however, is sometimes concluded from these facts.

(of whose Breviary the Canterbury Cathedral Library possesses a copy published in 1548), have been fully set forth by Sir William Palmer in the Supplement to 'Origines Liturgicæ,' and by Mr. Blunt in his 'Annotated Prayer-Book.']

[5] This word seems to have very soon acquired the meaning which is now commonly attached to it. Dr. Cardwell, indeed, ascribes the change to the time of the Restoration (Doc. Ann. ii. 271); but we find the bishops of that day speaking of the term as having "anciently" signified a person "trusted by the bishop with cure of souls" (Conf. 342), so that the meaning must then have long been obsolete. Andrewes writes in his notes (Works, xi. 150):—"Ministri nunc appellantur, quos olim ecclesia veriori nomine curatos dixit, propter animarum curam. Non ergo hic [in the prayer for the clergy] subsidiarii solum intelligendi, sed ipsi quibus cura incumbit." The word is used in the present sense even from the time of Cranmer (ii. 333, ed. Park. Soc.) and Latimer (ii. 324), and is sanctioned by the LXIXth Canon, which speaks of a "curate or substitute."

Mr. Paget writes as follows, in his preface to Bishop Patrick on Prayer (p. xi.): "One great error of a former age was, that the neglect of ordinances was spoken of as though it were sin of the people *only;* but surely we of the clergy ought not to have closed our churches because there were no congregation."

There is truth in this, if applied to places where there formerly *was* daily service; but it is, as I purpose to shew, a mere imagination to suppose that daily service was ever general in England since the Reformation, or that in the times of our most revered divines, service was performed in churches without a congregation.

Before proceeding to our proper subject, it may be well to advert to the practice of the unreformed Church. It is not, perhaps, anywhere directly asserted by those among us who are accustomed to magnify the excellences of the Roman communion—but I believe it is not uncommonly inferred from their writings—that the provisions made in the Breviaries for seven services daily are generally complied with by the public recitation of these offices. This idea, however, is by no means correct. The reader may be referred to Guéranger's 'Institutions,' vol. i., pp. 1-2; or to Gavanti, who appears to hold that the obligation of the clergy to read the canonical offices is variable according to the value of their preferments (ii. 2-4), and tells us that "parochi de jure antiquo tenebantur, nunc [his book was published in 1628] minime, ad publicam recitationem officii in ecclesia, et hoc de consuetudine fere universali, et communiter recepta, exceptis vesperis in diebus festis" (ib. p. 8). At the present day, according to Fr. Xavier Schmid,[6] the public performance of the daily offices is almost exclusively confined to cathedral, conventual, and other collegiate churches, the service in parish churches being for the most part only on Sundays

[6] Liturgik der Christkatholischen Kirche, ii. 25.

and holydays, with their eves.[7] It is evident from Quignonez' Breviary that in the age of the Reformation the daily canonical hours were not usually said in public, and that even the private recitation was much neglected; and, without wasting labour in superfluous inquiries, we may sufficiently understand the practice of that time in England from such a document as the record of Archbishop Warham's visitation in 1511,[8] from which it appears that in ordinary parishes the services were limited to Sundays and holy-days, and that even for the principal church of the considerable town of Dover, the Archbishop was content to order, by way of a reform, that mass should be celebrated on Wednesdays and Fridays at least. It is important to point out the real state of this matter, not only because otherwise our Reformed Church must suffer unfairly in a comparison with the unreformed, but also because the compilers of the Prayer-Book may be supposed to have intended that our practice should be in some degree modelled on that which prevailed under the earlier system; and thus from a mistaken idea of the one must follow a misapprehension as to the other.

We now come to consider the history since the Reformation; and first, let us look at the practice of eminent men who belonged to the class of parochial clergy.

Of *Hooker*, Walton tells that only on fasting days he "retired into the church, and locked himself up many hours."[9]

Herbert read service morning and evening in Bemerton Chapel. Twice a week he went to Salisbury Cathedral, when his curate from Fulston officiated at Bemerton.[10] The

[7] Schmid attributes this falling-off from the practice of earlier times chiefly to the circumstance that the people could not take an interest in unintelligible services, and therefore ceased to attend them. In the cathedrals, &c., the clergy are almost the only worshippers at the daily offices. (ii. 27.)

[8] Edited by the late Dr. Maitland in the British Magazine, 1846.

[9] Eccl. Biog. iii. 518. [10] Ib. iv. 38-42.

service at Fulston, *the parish church*, therefore, was not so frequent as at the chapel, unless we adopt the very improbable supposition that the curate read one service or both twice a day on these occasions.

Ferrar, before his ordination, procured the minister of Steeple Gidding to read prayers at Little Gidding daily at eight and four, and (by the bishop's special leave) the litany at ten.[11] Hence we learn, with the same degree of probability as in the last case, that at Steeple Gidding there was no daily service. Ferrar's observances after ordination are not to be thought of as a pattern for clergymen in ordinary circumstances.

Sanderson. It has been inferred from Walton's language about "the reading of the Church prayers," and "the decent and regular service of God," that Sanderson, while incumbent of Boothby Pagnell, used daily service.[12] As the custom of the time was otherwise, and Walton has spoken distinctly in other cases, the *general* nature of his words here seems rather to warrant an opposite conclusion. And this is confirmed by Sanderson's own language in his 'Judgment on Submission to Usurpers.'

Hammond had prayers in his church twice on holy-days and their eves, and on Saturdays; once on other days.[13]

Heylyn "read the Common Prayers in his church every morning; that gave great content to the parish (Alresford), being a populous market town."[14]

Sherlock, of Winwick, according to Bp. Wilson, "evening and morning, as the Church prescribes, attended public prayers."[15]

Bull took his family to church on holy-days, and tried to bring his people to observe Good Friday, by having "a sermon, besides the service of the Church."[16] When a

[11] Eccl. Biog. iv. 173.
[12] Bishop Mant, Charges, 1842, p. 39.
[13] Eccl. Biog. iv. 322.
[14] Life, prefixed to Miscell. Tracts, p. x.
[15] Pract. Christian, ed. 1841, p. xliii.
[16] Life, by Nelson, p. 54. Hence we learn that he did not usually preach on holy-days.

bishop, he increased the Wednesday and Friday service at Brecknock to service daily; and the daily morning service at Caermarthen to service twice a day.[17]

Kettlewell "had prayers both on holy-days and their eves, as also upon Saturdays in the afternoon."[18]

It may be observed generally with respect to these pious men, that, with the exception of Herbert, Ferrar, and Sherlock (who was placed in a very large and populous parish, being "possessed of one of the best livings in England," and "always entertaining in his house at least three curates, for the service of his church and chapels"),[19] they fell short of what is now said to be the plain duty of every clergyman having cure of souls; and nevertheless their biographers (who, it is worthy of remark, all lived in the seventeenth century) put forward their practice as something uncommon, and especially deserving of our admiration.

We may next look at the general state of things.

In the Book of 1549, we find a declaration that no man shall be bound to say matins and evensong "but such as from time to time, in cathedral and collegiate churches, parish churches, and chapels to the same annexed, shall serve the congregation."[20] The clergy here named as exceptions would seem to have been as much bound then as now.

In the same year, the King's injunctions ordered, "that the Common Prayer upon Wednesdays and Fridays be diligently kept;"[21] and Ridley, in his injunctions, directed that this be observed "in every church."[22] If such a measure of compliance with the rubric was held enough for the diocese of London, under such a bishop as Ridley, we may fairly conclude that matters were at least no better elsewhere.

[17] Life, by Nelson, p. 375-6. [18] Life, prefixed to Works, p. 24.
[19] Life, pp. xxvii.-xxx. [20] Keeling, xvii. [21] Doc. Ann. i. 64.
[22] Ib. 83.

1550. The Council complains to Ridley of work-day sermons in Essex, and prays him to "take order that they preach the holy-days[23] only, as they have been accustomed to do; and the work-days to use those prayers that are prescribed to them."[24] The bishop issues an order accordingly. If this passage stood alone, it might seem to imply that *daily* service was common; but, after what we have just seen, it cannot well be supposed to mean so much.

1551. Bishop Hooper enjoins that in the diocese of Gloucester "Common Prayer be had and used in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the King's Grace's ordinances; and that all such as conveniently may, shall diligently resort unto the same."[25]

1552. The act authorizing the second Prayer-Book enjoins attendance at church only on Sundays and holy-days[26]—an order which was repeated in Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, 1559.[27] In the second Book, the obligation of using the service was extended by the order that *all* priests and deacons should be bound to say it daily, "either privately or openly, except they be letted by preaching, studying of divinity, or by some other urgent cause." In this book, too, appeared the rule as to curates —the same which is now in our Prayer-Book, except some trifling points of verbal difference.[28]

The 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum,' a code which would probably have become law but for the premature death of Edward VI., makes many provisions for service in churches, according to the various classes into which they are divided. It does not appear to contemplate public worship in parish churches except on Sundays and holy-days.[29]

1559. It is ordered in the xlviiith of Elizabeth's injunc-

[23] Under this name the Sunday was then included.
[24] Ib. i. 85.
[25] Later Writings, 129, ed. Park. Soc.
[26] Gibson, Cod. p. 302.
[27] Ib. 357.
[28] Keeling, xvii.
[29] See Dr. Cardwell's edition, pp. 88 *seqq.*, Oxford, 1851.

tions "that weekly upon Wednesdays and Fridays, not being holy-days, the curate at the accustomed hours of service shall resort to church, and cause warning to be given to the people by knolling of a bell, and say the litany and prayers"[30]—*i.e.* apparently the prayers which were printed at the end of the litany.

1561. Bishop Davies, of St. Asaph, orders, "That the parsons, vicars, and curates, or one of them in every of their churches, do come together on Wednesdays and Fridays, being not holy-days, and there devoutly sing and say the litany, and exhort the people to come with devotion to hear the same, with other prayers, at hours and times convenient and accustomed."[31]

1563. A form of prayers to be used during the plague is set forth. Grindal, then bishop of London, desires his clergy to exhort the people "diligently to frequent the Common Prayer in their parish churches, and that not only on Sundays and holy-days, but also on Wednesdays and Fridays."[32] A royal order to the same effect followed.[33] The custom of that age at seasons of visitation appears to have generally agreed with this; thus we meet with similar provisions after an earthquake, in 1586,[34] on account of war and dearth, 1590,[35] and again, during a time of dearth, 1596.[36]

1571. A canon orders service "omnibus Dominicis et festis diebus."[37]

1571. Grindal, as archbishop of York, prescribes service both in the forenoon and afternoon on every Sunday and holy-day; "the litany and other prayers appointed for the day" on Wednesdays and Fridays in the forenoon; and evening-prayer "every Saturday and holy-even."[38]

1584. Bishops answer to a puritan petition, "It taketh

[30] Doc. Ann. i. 196.
[31] Wilkins, Concilia, iv. 229.
[32] Remains, p. 79.
[33] Ib. 81.
[34] Grindal, 415.
[35] Strype, Whitgift, 360.
[36] Doc. Ann. ii. 37.
[37] Synodalia, 120.
[38] Remains, 123.

away daily service used in these [cathedral and collegiate] churches."[39] It would seem hence that daily service was not usual elsewhere.

1585. "Orders for the increase of learning in the unlearned sort of ministers," which appear to have been sanctioned by Convocation.[40] "The order appointed in the Preface of the Common Book concerning the daily reading of public prayer shall be duly observed, to the end they may be better acquainted with the phrase and histories of the Scriptures."[41] If we should wonder that *public* prayers were ordered as means for the individual improvement of the unlearned ministers, the explanation may probably be, that it was not held safe to leave the matter to the private consciences of this class. Dr. Cardwell observes on the whole paper of orders—"It does not appear, nor is it probable, that they were adopted generally."[42]

1585. Aylmer, bishop of London, requires his clergy "to use prayers Wednesdays and Fridays."[43]

1586. An Order of Thanksgiving for the discovery of Babington's conspiracy is "daily to be used in common prayer where any is, or otherwise at such times as are by law appointed for Divine service."[44]

1588. In the preface to a form of prayer issued while the Spanish Armada was expected, it is required "that all curates and pastors should exhort their parishioners to endeavour themselves to come unto the church, with so many of their families as may be spared from their necessary business—not only on Sundays and holy-days, but

[39] Doc. Ann. i. 423. [40] Synodalia, 552. [41] Doc. Ann. ii. 1.

[42] Among articles to be subscribed by the lay-readers, 1561, was this:—"I shall daily at the least read one chapter of the Old Testament, and one other of the New, with good advisement, to the increase of my knowledge." (Doc. Ann. i. 269.) This was repeated in the Advertisements of 1565, with application to the clergy also. (ib. 296.)

[43] Life, by Strype, 82.

[44] Liturgies, &c., of Elizabeth, ed. Park. Soc. p. 597.

also on Wednesdays and Fridays, and at other times likewise during the time of these imminent dangers, &c."[45]

1590. Piers, archbishop of York, inquires only as to service on "Sabbath-days and other holy-days."

1601. Bancroft, as bishop of London, inquires after common prayer on Sundays and holy-days, and litany on Wednesdays and Fridays.[46]

1604. Canon XIV. orders prayer "upon such days as are appointed to be kept holy by the Book of Common Prayer, and their eves."—(The title has "Sundays and holy-days.") Canon XV., that the litany be used on Wednesdays and Fridays, although not holy-days; and that one of each household within half a mile attend.

The inquiries of Bancroft in the same year, those of Overall in 1619, and many others of about the same date,[47] are in general according to the measure of these canons.

In 1622, while the Spanish match was in view, Williams, then Bishop of Lincoln, and Lord Keeper, afterwards Archbishop of York, proposed among other things—

1. "That Common Prayer be duly performed in all churches and chapels on Wednesdays and Fridays, and two of every family be present."

4. "That private prayers shall no day be omitted in the family of him that is of the degree of an esquire; else not to be so named or reputed."[48]

A strong sanction this!

1627. A Mr. Blucknall left a salary to the curate of Abingdon for reading prayers daily—considering, apparently, a special engagement necessary.[49]

[45] Ib. 608. Cf. Whitgift, 1596, in Peck's 'Desiderata Curiosa,' i. book v. p. 13; Statutes for an hospital at Stamford-Baron, 1597, ib. p. 16. An order similar to that in the text is found in a form of prayer issued during a pestilence, A.D. 1636.

[46] Rit. Commission, Rep. ii. 436.

[47] See the 2nd Report of the Ritual Commission, pp. 444, 471, 518; Andrewes, xi. 114-5, 130; Laud, v. 383, 399, 423, 433, &c.

[48] Life, Pt. I. p. 122.

[49] Heylyn's Laud, p. 162.

In the same year, Cosin, as archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire, after the usual inquiries as to the more solemn days, asks whether the clergy "not only upon Sundays and holy-days and the days before mentioned, but upon every day also, say the daily morning and evening prayer, either privately at home or publicly in the church, as they are bound to do.[50]

1636. It is ordered in the Scotch Prayer-Book that "All presbyters and deacons shall be bound to say daily the morning and evening prayer, either privately or openly, except they be let or hindered by some urgent cause; of which cause, if it be frequently pretended, they are to make the bishop of the diocese, or the archbishop of the province, the judge and allower;"[51] and the rule as to curates is given as in the English book of 1604, which differs but slightly from the present form. It is very remarkable, that about the same time with the book there came out a royal order, in which the obligation of daily morning and evening service is limited to bishops *in their families*, and to colleges.[52] This is important for the present argument, as showing that in Scotland there was issued in express words, together with the rubric and by the same authority, that commentary which I am endeavouring by historical evidence, reaching through a number of years, to prove admissible in the English Church.

1636. Bishop Wren's Injunctions for Norwich. "That the litany be never omitted on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays."[53] In his inquiries, the bishop asks—"Doth every priest and deacon in your parish daily say the morning and evening prayer, either privately or openly, unless he be upon lawful cause hindered? Doth your curate say the same daily in your church or chapel, with the tolling of a bell before he begin? Especially . . . on every Sunday and holy-day and their eves, and on the day of the Conversion

[50] Works, ii. 8. [51] Keeling, p. xvii. [52] Rushworth, ii. 343.
[53] Doc. Ann. ii. 202.

of St. Paul, St. Barnaby's day, and every day of the holy week next before Easter, as also on all Wednesdays and Fridays?"[54]

1638. Bishop Montagu, in the same diocese, asks—"Doth [your minister] upon Wednesdays and Fridays ordinarily, and at other extraordinary times appointed by the ordinary, read and pray the litany?"[55]

Wren and Montagu, it will be remembered, were the strictest of the bishops at that day. The state of things then generally prevailing may be understood from what follows.

1641. The Committee appointed by the House of Lords, Archbishop Williams being president, asks—"Whether, according to that end of the preface before the Common Prayer, the curate should be bound to read morning and evening prayers every day in the church, and why not only on Wednesday and Friday morning, and in the afternoon on Saturday, with holy-day eves?"[56] This Heylyn notes, as a specimen of "passages observed impertinently, and not worth the altering;"[57] *i.e.* the committee wished to alter the rule, so that it should explicitly sanction the usual practice of the time; which Heylyn supposed to be not inconsistent with the rule as it stood.

Hammond[58] looks on the suppression of the Liturgy as a judgment drawn down by the neglect of it—"our want of diligence in assembling ourselves together (the too ordinary fault of too many of the best of us); our general, scandalous, unexcusable disobedience to the commands of our Church, which requires that service to be used constantly in public every day." The same view is taken by Bishop Duppa, in

[54] Rit. Comm. Report, ii. 559. Bishop Blomfield observes:—"That the framers of the rubric did not intend to insist upon an uninterrupted daily performance of Divine service, appears, I think, from the direction given to the curate, that when it *is* performed, he shall cause a bell to be tolled a convenient time before, to give the people notice." (Charge, 1842, p. 34.) According to the strict letter, the bell is as necessary as the service.

[55] p. 68. [56] Cardw. Conf. 274. [57] Life of Laud, 444.

[58] Preface to View of the Directory, in Works, i. 357.

an annotated Prayer-Book which is preserved in the Bodleian. Let it be understood, that I refer to these passages merely as evidence of the *fact*.

Fuller writes during the Usurpation—"We are concerned now more strictly to observe the Lord's Day than ever before. Holy-days are not, and holy-eves are not; and Wednesday and Friday litanies are not, and Lord's Day eves are not."[59]

Bishop Taylor, after the Restoration of Charles the Second, tells his clergy—"Every minister is obliged publicly or privately to read the Common Prayers every day in the week, at morning and evening; and in great towns, and populous places, conveniently inhabited, it must be read in churches."[60]

1679. Gunning, bishop of Ely, asks whether every minister celebrate Divine service "upon all Sundays and holy-days, not omitting also other days appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, as Wednesdays and Fridays (with the litanies added), and the eves of every Sunday and holy-day, with ember and rogation-days? And moreover, when he is at home, and not otherwise reasonably hindered himself, and able to get two or three gathered together, doth he every day say Divine service morning and evening in the parish church?"

1686. Bishop Turner, who had lately been appointed as Gunning's successor, urges his clergy to have daily morning and evening prayer in their churches, and suggests, that by means of "devout gentry and persons of quality, piously-disposed people, poor widows, who may well afford to be at prayers for those whose pensioners they are," &c., a congregation may be formed. "Nay, better the minister, with or without his parish-clerk, and with but some of his own family, that he may say 'Where two or three are gathered together in Thy name,' than not to

[59] Ch. Hist. xi. p. 149.

[60] Rules and Advices, No. 77.

begin this worthy design of prayers twice a day in your churches," &c.[61]

1688. Archbishop Sancroft desires bishops to urge their clergy "that they perform the daily office publicly in all market and other great towns, and even in villages and less populous places bring people to public prayers as frequently as may be; especially on such days, and at such times, as the rubric and canons appoint, holy-days and their eves, on ember and rogation-days, on Wednesdays and Fridays in each week, especially in Advent and Lent."[62]

1688. Bishop Ken writes to his clergy, *with a view to the observance of Lent*, "Be sure and offer up every day the morning and evening prayers; offer it up in your family, at least, or rather, as far as your circumstances may possibly permit, offer it up in the church, especially if yeu live in a great town. This I might enjoin you to do on your canonical obedience; but for love's sake I rather entreat you."[63]

1689. Commissioners offer, with a design for a comprehension of dissenters,—"That the rubric which obliges ministers to read or hear common prayer publicly or privately every day, be changed to an exhortation to the people to frequent those prayers."[64]

Having thus collected notices from the Reformation to the Revolution, I add in a note some references to later writers.[65] These agree generally in representing the attendance at daily service in their times as thin; in country places, they hardly contemplate such service at all; they

[61] Hierurg. Angl. 217-8.
[62] Doc. Ann. ii. 323.
[63] Works, ed. Round, 476-7.
[64] Cardw. Conf. 429.
[65] Life of Sharp, archb. of York, i. 188; Bp. Sprat, in Clergyman's Instructor, p. 242; Bp. Beveridge, Sermons, fol. ii. 216, and in Tracts for the Times, No. 25; Bp. Patrick on Prayer, pp. 118-231, and the original preface to his work on Repentance, p. xvii. ed. Paget; Nicholls and Wheatley's Commentaries; Bingham, Works, vol. ii. p. 757; Bp. Butler, Charge at Durham, 1751.

consider that want of a congregation sufficiently excuses a clergyman from officiating publicly, and that he is bound in that case to use the service in his family or by himself.

A few of the elder divines may be quoted as agreeing in, or approaching to, the stricter notions now held by some. Thus Cosin considers that the rule relating to curates "requires an explanation (against them that account themselves *reasonably letted* by any common and ordinary affairs of their own), whether anything but sickness or necessary absence abroad shall be sufficient to excuse them from this duty."[66] Sparrow writes[67] that the service is to be said daily in church; if there be no church,[68] but not otherwise, the priest is to say it at home; if no company can be got, by himself. And Comber (quoted in the London Charge of 1842, and in Tract 84) will not allow smallness of the congregation to be any excuse.

With respect to Cosin's note, it is to be observed that the explanation which he suggests was not adopted at the revision; and that his own Visitation-articles of 1662 are not so stringent. And on a survey of the whole question I think we may safely conclude that daily service was never general in parish churches, either before or since the Reformation; that on Wednesdays and Fridays the litany was commonly read in the times which we have been reviewing (sometimes, apparently, without the morning prayers);[69]

[66] Works, v. 503.

[67] Ration. 309.

[68] His Work was first published during the Usurpation.

[69] Mr. Lathbury is of opinion that because the rubric of 1662 describes the litany as "to be sung or said *after Morning Prayer*," we are not now at liberty to use it alone on Wednesdays and Fridays. (Hist. of Convocation, ed. i. 195.) If, as is most likely, the words were introduced in consequence of Cosin's suggestion (Works, v. 451, 509), we may be justified in supposing them to mean only that this office shall not be read at a wrong time of the day. In any case, they cannot bind us to use the litany *immediately* after morning prayer, so as to combine the two in one service. (See Jebb's Choral Service, 432-3.) Cosin himself, while he desires the insertion of an order that the litany be said after morning prayer, argues for a disjunction of the offices, and we know that he incurred persecution by practising it. (v. 451. See Chap. vi. § *b*.)

that service on the eves of Sundays[70] and holy-days was also common; that the want of a congregation was held to excuse the clergy from the public performance of the daily services, but that if they did not use the prayers in public, they were regarded as bound to read them in private;[71] and, lastly, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the observation of holy-days by public service was held to be universally binding.[72]

II.

Concurrence of Holy-days.

Bishop Blomfield directs, in his Charge of 1842, that "Where a Saint's day falls upon a Sunday, the collect for the Saint's day as well as that for the Sunday should be read, and the epistle and gospel for the Saint's day, but the lessons for the Sunday" (p. 65).

Some persons are of opinion that it is not allowable to mix up the Scripture readings of Sundays and holy-days when they concur, according to this suggestion. The practice, however, seems to be countenanced by one of the rubrics before the service for May 29; the whole of which rubric must be allowed to carry some weight, while in part it has the full authority of the Church, having been in the office for the day as sanctioned in 1662. In this original part, the principle of combination is to be found, although it is not so fully applied as in the other form.[1]

[70] It was usual to leave off labour at an early hour on Saturday evening by way of preparation for the Sunday. (Brand, Popular Antiquities, c. xii.)

[71] See Bp. Mant's Religio Quotidiana, Lond. 1846. The Tract No. 84 has excellent observations as to this, p. 37.

[72] There is much information as to holy-days in vol. i. of Bp. Mant's "Feriae Anniversariae," Lond. 1847. See Appendix I.

[1] [Although the observation of May 29 as a state-holiday is now abolished, the argument from the service formerly appointed for that day still holds good. See below, chap. xxvi.]

The puritans of James the First's day complained that "Apocryphal chapters are rather read than Scripture, when any holy-day falls on a Sunday." A writer of the time replies—"They are not read rather than Scripture. And for the time of reading them, it is of no necessity, but left to the discretion of the godly and discreet minister."[2] Hence it would seem that the Saint's-day service was read in cases of concurrence;—a discretion, however, being commonly exercised as to the choice of lessons.

Until the last review, the list of holy-days was headed by an order that "none other" should be kept; yet it did not contain either the Conversion of St. Paul, or St. Barnabas' day, although the Prayer-Book had offices for both. Heylyn writes that the office for each of these "is observed in all cathedrals and the chapels royal, where the service is read every day, and in most parish churches also, as often as either of them fall upon a Sunday."[3] This passage, like the preceding, shows that in his time it was usual to read the Saint's-day service in cases of concurrence; and it does not contradict what has been said above,[4] as to the observation of holy-days in that age, since the very difference between these two and other feasts was, that St. Paul and St. Barnabas' days were not celebrated by summoning the people to church expressly in order to keep them.[5] It may, however, throw a doubt on the generality of Wednesday and Friday service.

Neither the historical fact which we learn from these extracts, however, nor the passage of Bishop Blomfield's Charge, will suffice to solve all our difficulties—since

[2] Nicholls, Supplem. 33—who, however, is manifestly wrong in supposing Laud the author of the treatise from which this is taken.

[3] Tracts, p. 17. [4] p. 45.

[5] In the Sarum Primer of 1543, both days are among the black-letter holidays, while the other festivals of Apostles are in red. Another primer, of about 1537, and one of 1555, mark the Conversion of St. Paul with red, and St. Barnabas' day with black. The observance of these days is matter of special inquiry in some articles, *e.g.* those of Cosin, as archdeacon, in 1627 (Works, ii. 9), and of Bp. Wren, quoted above, p. 41.

there may be a concurrence of a moveable with an immoveable holy-day on a week-day; and, moreover, both as to Sundays and as to other days, there may be cases where the application of the Bishop's rule would seem very doubtful—*e.g.*, if the Annunciation should concur with some day between Palm Sunday and Tuesday after Easter, or if St. Barnabas' day should concur with Whitsunday, Monday or Tuesday in Whitsun-week, or Trinity Sunday.[6]

Fuller rules may be found in the British Magazine for January and May, 1837, in Dr. Jebb's work on the Choral Service,[7] [in Professor Blunt's Lectures on 'The Duties of the Parish priest,'[8] and in some recent commentaries on the Prayer-Book[9]]. While it is allowed that the Roman books—(or, more properly, the books formerly used in England)—may fitly be consulted on such a subject, we must not forget, in attempting to form any rules from such sources, that our Church has, in the Preface to the Prayer-Book, condemned the principle of *intricacy*.[10]

Bishop Cosin expresses a wish for a rule.[11] As his suggestions in many cases influenced the revisers of 1662, and yet nothing was done in this case, perhaps we may hence conclude that they did not think fit to prescribe in the matter.

[6] The principle of giving the subject of the season precedence over that of the immoveable day, may be seen in the fact that the first celebration of St. Barnabas' day under the English Prayer-Book was in 1550, although the book had been in use from Whitsunday, 1549—Tuesday in Whitsun-week having concurred with St. Barnabas' day in 1549. Heylyn, Hist. Ref. i. 206-7, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

[7] Sect. lv.

[8] pp. 313-320.

[9] *e.g.* Proctor, 220-1; Interleaved P. B. 13, 27.

[10] The passage in which "the number and hardness of the rules called the *Pie*" are complained of, is derived from Quignonez:—"Accedit tam perplexus ordo, tamque difficilis precandi ratio, ut interdum paulo minor opera in inquirendo ponatur quam, cum inveneris, in legendo." (p. 2, ed. Paris, 1548.) The perplexed character has not been removed by the later alterations of the Breviary. Guéranger contends strenuously for the necessity of intricacy in Divine offices. (i. 394, and elsewhere.)

[11] v. 508.

III.

The Rogation-Days.

Bishop Sparrow writes that "the service formerly [*i.e.* by Elizabeth's injunctions] appointed [for the Rogation-days] was Ps. 103 and 104, with the litany and suffrages, and the homily of thanksgiving. The two psalms were to be said at convenient places in the common perambulation; the people thus giving thanks to God in the beholding of God's benefits, the increase and abundance of His fruits upon the earth. At their return to the church they were to say the rest of the service."[1]

According to Wheatley, "the three first parts" of the homily are "to be used upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; and the fourth, upon the day when the parish make their procession." It seems to be intended that the first parts should be read with the morning-prayers; possibly the communion-service of the preceding Sunday may be repeated, and the homily introduced into it; and after this, on one of the three days, the perambulation should take place, and the service mentioned by Bishop Sparrow should be gone through.

The observation of these days is often inquired after in episcopal articles; and in the early times after the Reformation these are marked by a strong apprehension that the perambulation might be the means of keeping up some things which were regarded as superstitions. Thus, Abp. Grindal asks in 1571, "whether the parson churchwardens, &c., walk the accustomed bounds of the parish, and whether in the same perambulation the curate do use any other rite or ceremony than to say in English the 103rd Psalm and the 104th Psalm, and such sentences of Scripture as be appointed by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, with the litany and suffrages following the same, and

[1] Rationale, 148.

reading one homily already devised and set forth for that purpose, without wearing any surplices, carrying of banners or hand-bells, or staying at crosses, or other such like popish ceremonies?"[2]

It would seem that in those times the four parts of the homily were read at various stages of the perambulation;[3] but at a later date we find Cosin asking (1662), "When the perambulation is ended, doth he [the minister] go into the church with them, and read unto them one of the sermons set forth and appointed for that purpose?"

Mr. Rose informs us that "There are several entries in a private book belonging to the rectors of Hadleigh, of the perambulations on Ascension-day, after prayers at six o'clock in the morning."[4]

IV.

The Place of Reading[1] the Prayers and the Position of the Minister.

Rubric:—"The Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the Church, Chapel,

[2] Rit. Commission Rep. ii. 409; Parkhurst, ib. 404; Aylmer, ib. 420; Bancroft, ib. 436, &c. These days are called "the *cross* days," in the Epistles and Gospels printed by Petyt in 1543, and annexed to a Primer.

[3] Parker, in Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 416.

[4] Brit. Mag. vi. 423. See further, Elizabeth's Injunctions (Doc. Ann. i. 187); Interpretations by the Bishops (ib. 204); Advertisements of 1565 (ib. 293); Zurich Letters, 2nd Ser. No. 17; Strype's Parker, 153; Grindal (Doc. Ann. i. 337, and Remains, 241); Walton's Life of Hooker (Eccl. Biog. iii. 518); Wren (Doc. Ann. ii. 202); Montagu's Articles, p. 67; Burn, Eccl. Law, iii. 75-6; Brand's Popular Antiquities, i. 116-124; Dansey, Horae Dec.-Rurales, i. 296-9, ed. 2; Palmer, Origg. Liturgicæ, Suppl. 97-8; Harrison, 92; Blunt's P. B. 26.

[1] Some persons think it necessary to speak of "*saying* prayers," and tell us that this is the Prayer-Book expression. The words *read* and *say*, however, appear to be there used indifferently. Compare the rubrics before the Apostles' creed and after the third morning collect, with those before the Athanasian creed and the litany. Our elder divines had no superstition as to the use of these terms.

or Chancel, except it shall be otherwise determined by the Ordinary of the place."

Bishop Blomfield speaks as follows:—"I do not consider it to be the intention of our Church, that the officiating minister, when reading prayers, should turn his face to the east, with his back to the congregation. Bishop Sparrow thinks that anciently[2] the reading-desk was so placed that the minister looked to the east, away from the people, to whom he is directed to turn in reading the lessons. But the reading-desk was unknown in the early years of the Reformation. It is not mentioned in the Injunctions of King Edward VI. nor in those of Queen Elizabeth, nor in any canons or visitation-articles before the canon of 1603.[3] The first rubric in King Edward's Common Prayer-Book orders that the minister so turn him in reading prayers as that the people may best hear him; and as the customary place for reading the prayers was then the chancel, at the communion-table, it is clear that he could not have faced the east."[4]

It will be convenient to follow this Charge in connecting the two subjects here spoken of,—the place and the position of the minister.

[2] Bishop Sparrow's words are:—"This was the ancient custom of the Church of England, that the priest who did officiate, in all those parts of the service which were directed to the people, turned towards them; but in those parts which were directed to God immediately, he turned from the people; and for that purpose, in many parish churches of late, the reading-pew had one desk for the Bible, looking towards the people, to the body of the church, another for the Prayer-Book, looking towards the east, or upper end of the chancel." (Rationale, pp. 34-5.) The meaning appears to be, not that the fashion of these desks which had been used "of late" (*i.e.* in the days of Charles I.) was ancient, but that it agreed with the custom as to turning which obtained anciently (or before the Reformation), and which is still implied in the rubric relating to the lessons. [The fact that Sparrow's book was published in 1657, when the Church was under eclipse, seems to give the key to his words, as to the meaning of which Professor Blunt expresses uncertainty, pp. 321-2.]

[3] L'Estrange is cited as the authority for this statement. The reader will, however, find below some passages from episcopal *orders* and *injunctions* issued before 1603; which as respects the present question, are to be classed with *visitation-articles*.

[4] Charge, 1842, p. 47.

The passage in King Edward's Prayer-Book to which reference is made is as follows:—

> "The Morning and Evening prayer shall be used in such place of the Church, Chapel, or Chancel, and the Minister shall so turn him, as that the people may best hear."

This, however, is to be found only in the Book of 1552. In the First Book of Edward, as well as in those from the time of Elizabeth, it is ordered that the minister shall so turn himself in reading *the lessons* that "he may best be heard of all such as be present;"[5] but there is no such rule for the prayers; and at the last review, a restoration of the rubric of 1552 was expressly refused.[6] Moreover, it would seem that when the minister was ordered to turn himself to the people throughout, the custom of reading at or near the communion-table was also suspended.

In the Liturgy of 1549, it is directed that "The priest, being in the choir, shall begin with a loud voice the Lord's Prayer," with which the service at that time opened. The words "accustomed place," are first found in Elizabeth's Book, where they denote, not exactly the communion-table, but the priest's stall "at the upper end of the choir, near the altar; towards which, whether standing or kneeling, he always turned his face in the prayers."[7] Wheatley suggests that the revisers of 1662, in retaining this rubric (unless they did so from inadvertence), may, under the name of "accustomed place," have intended the reading-desk, which had in the mean time come into general use, and had received the sanction of a canon.

Let us now look at some passages connected with the history.

1551. Bishop Hooper enjoins that the clergy shall read the service in such sort, and in such place of the church,

[5] Keeling, 12-13. [6] Cardw. Conf. 314-351.
[7] Wheatley, c. ii. § 5; cf. Gibson, Codex, p. 364.

as the people may best understand. . . . And in case the chancel stand far from the people, or else by reason of roodlofts, belfries, or any such inclosure, the psalms spoken by the minister cannot be heard into the lowest part of the church, or else if the curate or minister have so small and soft a breast or voice that he cannot be heard into the lowest part of the church, that then every of them come into the body of the church, and there . . . see that all things be read in such sort that all the people may understand," &c.[8]

1552. At St. Paul's, London, when the Second Book of Edward came into use, "the communion-table was placed in the lower part of the quire, where the priest sang the daily service."[9]

The puritans at Frankfort, in Queen Mary's time, complain of other exiles for turning eastward.[10]

1559. Scott, bishop of Chester, a Romanist, reckons "praying towards the east" among things which the proposed Book of Queen Elizabeth "taketh away, either in part or clearly."[11]

1562. The Convocation rejects a puritanical proposal, "that in all parish churches the minister turn his face towards the people."[12]

1563. Archbishop Parker inquires whether the clergy "do celebrate Divine service in the chancel or in the church."[13] In the same year, having been desired to revise the draft of an office which had been drawn up by Grindal, then bishop of London, for use during a time of sickness,[14] he writes to Sir W. Cecil—"The formular would infer all the whole service in the body of the church, which being once in this particular order devised, we do abolish all chancels,

[8] Later writings, 130-1.

[9] Heylyn, Hist. Ref. i. 269, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.

[10] Strype, Ann. i. 178.

[11] Cardw. Conf. 110.

[12] Strype, Ann. i. 337.

[13] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 403.

[14] See Liturgical Services of Q. Elizabeth, 478, *seqq.*; Grindal's Remains, p. 81 (Park. Soc.).

and therefore the litany with the new psalms, lessons, and collects may be said, as litany is already ordered, in the midst of the people." Parker therefore altered it so as "to make it draw as nigh as can be to the public book and orders used," &c.[15]

1564. Cecil complains that "some say the service and prayers in the chancel; others, in the body of the church; some say the same in a seat made in the church; some in the pulpit, with their faces to the people."[16]

1564. At Canterbury Cathedral, "The Common Prayer daily throughout the year, though there be no communion, is sung at the communion-table, standing north and south, where the high altar did stand; the minister, when there is no communion, useth a surplice only, standing on the east side of the table, with his face towards the people."[17] Bishop Blomfield appears to suppose that this arrangement as to place and position in saying the prayers was usual at the time.[18] I have not, however, seen any notice of it, save on this occasion at Canterbury; where the great extent of the choir might render it necessary that the minister should turn his face to the people, although the practice elsewhere were to face the east.[19]

[15] Parker's Correspondence, 185 (Park. Soc.).

[16] Strype, Parker, 152. [17] Ib. 183.

[18] It is now common among the Lutherans, especially in Saxony. Daniel, Codex Liturgicus, ii. 6.

[19] Since this was first published, a new interpretation of the passage has been proposed by Dr. Jebb, in his valuable work on the Choral Service. He argues that "the expression *though* or *when there be no communion* has no relevancy with respect to matins or evensong," and hence infers "that the Ante-communion was daily performed, as it is still in St. Patrick's on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent." (p. 471.) It appears to me that the expression "Common Prayer daily throughout the year" cannot but include the Matins and Evensong; and it is difficult to understand why, if the Ante-communion only were meant, the priest should stand at the east side, in violation of the rubric, which then, as now, directed that he should stand on the north. It is, however, highly probable that the Ante-communion (or, as it was usually styled, second service), may in this case have been added to the daily morning prayer. The Book of 1549 ordered that it should be said after the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, the priest

1564. A clergyman near Bocking, appealing against the Dean,[20] who had forbidden him to turn towards the altar in reading the service, alleges that "His church was small, and his voice might be heard. The litany he said in the body of the church, and when he said the service, he kept the chancel, and turned his face to the east."[21]

1564. The parish accounts of Dartington have an entry of xxij^{d}. paid to a carpenter and his men for one day's work in making "the new dexte [desk] to the chansyll dore." In 1566 there is the following charge—"Paid for myndyng [mending?] of the seat that the minister sitteth upon, ij^{d}."[22]

1565. Advertisements by the Bishops direct—"That the Common Prayer be said or sung decently and distinctly, in such place as the ordinary shall think meet for the largeness and straitness of the church and choir, so that the people may be most edified."[23]

1569. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, orders "That in great churches, where all the people cannot conveniently hear their minister, the churchwardens shall provide a decent and a convenient seat in the body of the church, where the minister may sit or stand, and say the whole of the Divine service, that all the congregation may hear and be edified therewith; and that in smaller churches there be

wearing a plain albe or surplice, with a cope. The dress described in the text is in accordance with the Advertisements issued a few months later, where it is said that in cathedral and collegiate churches the priest shall wear a cope at administration of the Communion; and "at all other prayers to be said at the communion-table shall use no copes, but surplices." (Doc. Ann. i. 291.) I have not observed any other instances of the use on ordinary days in the reigns of Elizabeth and James; but under Charles I. we find that Wren ordered in parish-churches "the second service on lecture-days, if any" (Doc. Ann. ii. 200); that Cosin introduced the practice of reading it daily in Durham Cathedral (Hierurg. Anglicana, p. 38); and Laud prescribed the like for Winchester. (Prynne, Canterbury's Doom, p. 81.) See chap. xvii. § *k*.

[20] The Dean of Bocking had jurisdiction, as archiepiscopal commissary, over certain parishes in Essex and Suffolk, which were peculiars of the see of Canterbury. Dansey, Horae Dec.-Rur. i. 148, ed. 2.

[21] Strype, Parker, 152.

[22] British Mag. vi. 269.

[23] Doc. Ann. i. 291.

some convenient seat outside the chancel door."[24] This, says Dr. Hook,[25] "is the first mention that we find made of a reading-pew." The extracts just given from the Dartington accounts, however, appear to mean much the same with this.

1569. Archbishop Parker inquires in his visitation-articles, "whether they do celebrate Divine service in the chancel or in the church?"[26]

Percival Wiburn, a puritan, in giving an account of the state of the Church, complains that "prayers are said in the place accustomed in time of popery, unless the bishop should order it otherwise."[27]

1571. Archbishop Grindal enjoins on the clergy of York —"Ye shall say or sing the Common Prayer, standing in a pulpit or seat appointed for that purpose, and so turning your face towards the people as they may best hear the same."[28] And in the articles for the laity, an order is given for "a decent low pulpit, to be erected and made in the body of the church out of hand, wherein the minister shall stand with his face towards the people, when he readeth the morning or evening prayer; provided always that when the churches are very small, it shall suffice that the minister stand in his accustomed stall in the choir; so that a convenient desk or lettern, with a room to turn his face toward the people, be there provided."[29]

1571. Scambler, bishop of Peterborough, orders that at Northampton "the Common Prayer accustomed to be said [in the choir, be] brought down into the body of the church, among the people, before whom the same is used according to the Queen's Book" (*i.e.* the Advertisements of 1565).[30]

1573. Cartwright says—"He which readeth is in some places not heard, and in the most places not understanded of

[24] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 404.
[25] Ch. Dict.—Art. *Pew*.
[26] Doc. Ann. i. 321.
[27] Zurich Letters, ii. 361.
[28] Remains, 123.
[29] Ib. 132; cf. Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 407.
[30] Strype, Ann. ii. 90.

the people, through the distance of place between the people and the minister; all the which riseth upon the words of the book of service, which are, that the minister shall stand 'in the accustomed place.' For thereupon the minister sitteth in the chancel, with his back to the people." The lessons, it appears, were then read in the body of the church. Whitgift replies that the "accustomed place" was not necessarily the chancel; "I think there are but few churches where the bishops have not taken a very good order for the place of prayer: if any bishop have neglected it, the fault is in the bishop, not in the book. . . . In my opinion, that place in the church is the most fitted both for praying and preaching where the minister may have the people before him,[31] except the church be so great and the people so many that he cannot be heard of them; then there ought to be some regard thereof"[32] [*i.e.* by officiating in the midst of the church]. Cartwright rejoins, "I am persuaded that the tenth church in England hath not all the service said in that place where the whole church may best hear;" and he complains that the bishops should have all in their hands, but does not deny Whitgift's statement as to their power.[33]

1576. Grindal, as Archbishop of Canterbury, inquires "whether the minister so turn himself, and stand in such place of the church or chancel, as the people may best hear."[34]

1583. Middleton, bishop of St. David's, orders that "the minister shall always stand either in the body of the church, or at the least in the lower end of the chancel (where commonly the seat of the minister is) with his face always turned down unto the people."[35]

It is stated in the Glossary of Architecture,[36] that in the

[31] This seems to imply that the minister turned towards the people in prayer. [32] Whitgift, ii. 460-1, 463. [33] Second Reply, pt. ii. p. 187.
[34] Rem. 157. [35] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 426.
[36] Art. *Lettern*, ed. 3. The passage has since been omitted.

church of Drayton Beauchamp, of which Hooker was incumbent about 1584, "there are still two desks in the reading-pew, as described by Bishop Sparrow." Another account of this same pew, from 'The Book of Fragments,' is produced by the compilers of the Hierurgia Anglicana,[37] as proving that the practice of praying eastward was observed by Hooker. The fact is, however, that the two desks are at right angles to each other, that for the Prayer-Book being turned towards the south, and that for the Bible towards the west.[38] The date of the reading-pew has not been ascertained.

1604. Canon XIV. is to the same effect as the passage above given from the advertisements of 1565. Canon LXXXII. directs "That a convenient seat be made for the minister to read service in."

Bishop Andrewes inquires at Winchester, in 1619, "Have you a convenient pulpit for the preaching, a decent seat for the minister to say service in?"[39] In 1625, he asks, "Have you . . . a higher pulpit for preaching, a lower to say service in?"[40] In this he is substantially followed by Cosin, 1627: "Have you a lower pulpit to say service in, a higher for preaching, both decently framed and adorned?"[41]

[37] P. 78. This work, "edited by members of the Cambridge Camden Society," has for its object to furnish documentary illustrations of our ritual since the Reformation. Unfortunately, however, the editors have thought fit to adduce evidence on the more ceremonial side alone, instead of endeavouring to give a true representation of the whole case. The work, therefore, must have the effect of producing very mistaken notions, unless the reader be able to supply from other sources that *balancing* information which the compilers of the Hierurgia withhold. One odd feature is, that a very large portion—(perhaps nearly half)—of the extracts is taken from complaints, reports of complaints, or answers to complaints, against the things which the compilers wish to recommend. [See a defence of some things in this volume against the Hierurgists, in Brit. Mag. xxvi. 283, *seqq.* (Sept. 1844).]

[38] For this information I am indebted to the kindness of the [late] Rector of Drayton, the Rev. W. Hastings Kelk.

[39] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 474.

[40] Ib. 494.

[41] Art. for the East Riding, Works, ii. 4.

We learn incidentally, that between the 13th of James I. and 1632, at St. Edmund's Church in Salisbury, which appears to have been under puritanical control, "the reading-place had been removed from the choir into the body of the church." [42]

Herbert and Ferrar caused the pulpit and the desk in their churches to be made of the same height; rather, however, two desks than two pulpits, the height of Herbert's being seven feet four inches.[43]

1636. Bishop Wren orders, "That the minister's reading-desk do not stand with the back towards the chancel, nor too remote or far from it." [44] He inquires, "Have you a convenient seat, &c.? . . . where doth it stand? how far from the chancel? and which way doth the standing thereof cause the minister to turn his face when he kneeleth therein at prayer?" [45] In his answer, when impeached, Wren denies having violently enforced turning eastward, and, for proof that such was the custom after the Reformation, refers to "the ancient form of their [seemingly the ministers'] seats in many churches," to Cartwright, as quoted above, and to the rubric for turning at the lessons.[46]

1638. Bishop Montagu inquires—"Have you a comely and convenient pew of wainscot for your minister to read Divine service in, and another to preach in? Doth it stand in the face of the congregation as much as conveniently may be, so that they may behold and hear and understand the minister in what he readeth, preacheth, or prayeth?"

1641. The Committee appointed by the House of Lords charges as an innovation, the "turning eastward in creeds and prayers." [47]

Heylyn proves that the minister formerly looked east-

[42] Rushworth, ii. 154.
[43] Walton's Lives, ed. Zouch, p. 346.
[44] Doc. Ann. ii. 205.
[45] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 557.
[46] Parentalia, 78.
[47] Cardw. Conf. 272.

ward, and complains the desks were "all, or most part, of late so placed that the minister faced his congregation, contrary both to the Church's order and the ancient practice."[48]

Cosin writes that "the pulpit was wont of old time to be so placed and joined to the front of the chancel (next to the body of the church), that the priest might ascend up into it from his own stall below, where he read the morning and evening service."[49] Elsewhere he says, that "accustomed place" meant the chancel; that in most churches the ordinaries had used the authority reserved to them by the rubric, of ordering things otherwise; "and from hence it was, somewhat after the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, that the minister had a desk, or smaller pulpit set up for him, whereat to read Divine service and the lessons, in the body of the church.[50]

1661–2. At the Savoy Conference, the episcopal divines refused to restore the rubric of 1552 (by which everything was to be so arranged "as that the people might best hear").[51] On the other hand, the revisers of the Prayer-Book did not adopt the order of the Scotch book, that the priest should turn himself "to" the people in reading the Absolution — "a rubric," says Mr. Crosthwaite, "which seemed to imply that he should turn his face away from the people while reading the Confession which preceded it."[52] In the revision, by a change in the first rubric of the Commination-service, the term *reading-pew* was for the first time introduced into the Prayer-Book, which until then had prescribed the pulpit as the only place for reading the earlier part of that service. The change may have been made in consequence of a suggestion proposed by the committee of 1641—"May not the priest rather read the Commination in the desk than go up into the pulpit?"[53] indeed

[48] Tracts, 159.
[49] Works, v. 383.
[50] Ib. 227.
[51] Cardw. Conf. 314, 351. See above, p. 51.
[52] Brit. Mag. xxxi. 305.
[53] Cardw. Conf. 276.

it had been anticipated many years before by Cosin, who, as archdeacon, had asked, "Doth your minister go into his lower pulpit, and read the Commination-service?"[54] We need not be detained by the endeavours of some writers to persuade themselves that the term "reading-pew" in the rubric of 1662 means the sermon-pulpit, or the lectern,—anything, in short, except that which the use of language suggests, and which historical evidence proves it to mean.[55]

From the passages which have been here brought together we may conclude that the present rubric was originally understood to fix the chancel as ordinarily the place in which the service should be read. In some cases, perhaps, it was said at the holy table; but it seems to have been more generally said in a lower part of the chancel, where the priest's stall was constructed. The stricter churchmen turned eastward; which position, as well as the place of service, the puritans vehemently objected to, as a hindrance to hearing and understanding; puritan ministers, perhaps, sometimes factiously affecting to be inaudible, when tied down to the observance of the rules.[56] The governors[57] of the Church, although they did not think fit to humour the puritans, always wished that the service should be read distinctly and audibly, and ordered things with a view to this, according to the circumstances of particular places—allowing the priest to officiate in the

[54] Works, ii. 14.

[55] See Hierurg. Anglic. 78; Jebb, 194, 533; Blunt's Annotated Prayer-Book, 307, &c. In the last of these books it is further maintained that "the pulpit is probably the *jube*, a lectern on the top of the chancel-screen"! See below, c. xvii. sect. *b*.

[56] Bishop Wren states this as to the practice of his puritanical contemporaries, when required to read the second service at the altar. (Parentalia, 80.) It is most likely that they may have behaved in the same way with respect to the matins and evensong, at the earlier date when these too were to be read in the chancel.

[57] I do not here speak of such as Grindal, Scambler, Parkhurst, and Middleton, who were puritanically affected.

upper part of the nave if he could not be well heard from the chancel.

The canon of 1604 gave a general order for the erection of desks, which had before been introduced into many churches with the sanction of individual ordinaries. During the primacy of Abbot the earlier customs wore out, so that the bishops of Charles the First's time were charged with innovation when they attempted anything like a revival of them.

Although it was held desirable that the minister should look eastward, this was evidently not insisted on when it could really interfere with the edification of the people. Wren denies having pressed it; Montagu's Inquiries seem even to discourage it.

On the whole, the best plan for a reading-pew, where there is no separate lectern, appears to be that approved by Bishop Blomfield,[58] according to which the desks for the Bible and Prayer-Book are at right angles to each other, as in the case of Drayton Beauchamp. The only condition prescribed as to the form of the reading-seat is, that it be "convenient." As an abundant latitude is thus allowed, it seems very unnecessary that any party among us should make an outcry against the rubrical term *reading-pew* as one which cannot mean anything but what is bad, or should attempt to explain away the authorities by which this article of church-furniture is sanctioned.

The settlement of the points which have been considered under this head is expressly left to the Ordinary.[59]

[58] Charge, 1842, p. 48. Heylyn, however, objects to "looking askew," Tracts, 159.

[59] ["In Griffin *v.* Dighton, Chief-Justice Erle decided (on appeal in 1864) that the chancel is the place for the clergyman and for those who assist him in the performance of Divine service; and that it is entirely under his control as to access and use, subject to the jurisdiction of the Ordinary." Blunt's Annot. P.-B. 64 *.]

V.

Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers.

Rubric of 1662:—"Such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England by the authority of parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI."

We shall hereafter consider in detail what were the ornaments[1] intended by this rubric. It may be well to exhibit in this place, for the purposes of reference and comparison, the corresponding passages of earlier books.

1552. It is ordered by the rubric of King Edward's second Book that

> "The minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, nor cope; but being Archbishop or Bishop, he shall have and wear a rochet; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."[2]

1559. The rubric directs that—

> "The minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., according to the act of parliament set in the beginning of this book."[3]

[1] [The Privy Council, in giving judgment in the case of Westerton and Liddell, defined the word *ornament*, after Forcellini, as standing "pro quocunque apparatu vel instrumento." They added that "all the several articles used in the performance of the services and rites of the Church are *ornaments*," referring to an ancient list given in Burn, i. 375-7. "In modern times, organs and bells come under this denomination." Report by Moore, 156-7.]

[2] Keeling, 3.

[3] Ib.

The passage of the act here referred to is as follows—"Such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained, and be in use, as was in this Church of England by authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.; until other order shall be therein taken, by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorised under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this realm."[4] Our present rubric appears to be derived from this act, rather than from the rubric of Elizabeth's Book.

Very great importance has been attached to the question of ornaments. The puritans held those prescribed by the Church's rulers to be unlawful for Christians; the rulers enforced them, not apparently so much for the sake of the things themselves as because the principle of obedience was involved, and there was very good reason to suppose that from yielding they could hope for nothing but to be assailed with further demands. It is to be observed, however, that no attempt was ever made to enforce (at least on the parochial clergy) those ornaments by the disuse of which our common practice seems to fall short of the rubric.[5] Copes, and chasubles, albs, lights on the altar, were never, I believe, prescribed by any ordinary for parish churches; the subjects of dispute were commonly things as to which all the clergy of the English Church appear to be at present in perfect agreement.

The word "retained" was originally used, as we have seen, not in the rubric but in the Act of Uniformity of 1559, and had reference to the state of things at the accession of Elizabeth. Some of the ornaments used under

[4] Gibson, Codex, 309.

[5] The contests about the cap, gown, &c., do not come under this head. *They* were articles of the ordinary dress; whereas the rubric speaks of apparel to be worn "at times of ministration."

Queen Mary were to be *retained;* the rest were to be discarded. The words of a letter written at the time by Sandys to Parker are worth quoting—not as having any formal authority, but as shewing what kind of interpretation was considered admissible by an influential divine who had been concerned in the revision of the Liturgy.—"Our gloss upon this text is, that we shall not be forced to use them, but that others in the mean time shall not convey them away, but that they shall remain for the Queen."[6]

It is not clear in what meaning the revisers of 1662, by whom the word was introduced into the rubric, intended it to be understood; we may, however, be sure that they could not mean to enforce generally the use of ornaments which had not been so used from the time of the revision under Elizabeth, and had been in the interval expressly dispensed with by injunctions and canons; — although these, it must be allowed, were more or less wanting in the full authority of Church and State.

Before entering on the consideration of details, it may be well to note that "The clergyman does not provide the ornaments of the church. It may, or may not, be his duty to present the churchwardens for not doing it; but he cannot refuse to officiate because they have not provided the proper ornaments."[7]

(*a.*) *Lights on the Altar.*

These are the only ornaments of the church, as to which much is said at the present time; for it is hardly to be imagined that the editors of the Hierurgia Anglicana can be serious in including the *pax* (*osculatorium*) among the

[6] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii.; Records, p. 332.

[7] Hugh J. Rose, in Brit. Magazine. [To the same purpose the Bishop of Exeter spoke in the cases of the Rev. Walter Blunt (Evening Mail, Nov. 22, 1844), and of the Rev. W. G. P. Smith (Guardian, June 2, 1847).]

articles which our rubric is supposed to contemplate.[8] The "traverses, curtains, canopies, palls," &c. with which Laud embellished some altars, have not been revived, or, if revived in any quarter, have been allowed to pass in silence, so far as my knowledge extends.[9]

Bishop Blomfield observes, "I see no objection to candles on the communion-table, provided that they are not burning, except when the church is lighted up for evening service."[10] The order, however, is for *lights;* Fuller argues on the word, that "these being termed *lights*, shows they were not *lumina cœca*, but burning,"[11] and we have abundant proof that they *were* burning.

[8] The second year of Edward ended January 27, 1548-9. (Nicolas, Chronology, 350.) The act by which the Prayer-Book was enforced, was read a third time in the House of Lords, Jan. 15, and a third time in the Commons, Jan. 21 (Cardwell's Liturgies, p. xi.). The period intended in the rubric is evidently that of this enactment, *i.e.* the very last days of the second year. Unless retained at that time, such ornaments as had been used at an earlier date in the year are now of no authority; and if anything beyond a mere suggestion were required in proof of this view, such a practical reduction *ad absurdum* as that furnished by these ritualists (p. 2), in quoting a notice of the *pax* from a paper of injunctions (Doc. Ann. i. No. xii.), issued while the service was still mainly in Latin, might probably be found sufficient. [The interpretation of the "second year" here given, has been laid down as law by the Privy Council in the cases of St. Barnabas and St. Paul's (Moore, p. 160), and also in Martin *v.* Mackonochie. It is pointed out that the act confirming the Prayer-Book is referred to in the act 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1, sect. 5, as "made in the *second* year of his Majesty's reign." Moore, l. c.; cf. Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 63.] The pax is now generally disused in the Roman communion [although I have seen it at St. Ouen's, Rouen, and at Antwerp Cathedral] (Schmid, Liturgik, i. 252). Binterim supposes it to be of English origin. See Daniel, Cod. Liturg. i. 143.

[9] [This sentence has been left as an evidence of the state of things in 1843-4. Since then, it is hardly necessary to say that the altar-cloths of some churches—in which the colours were changed with the seasons, and the "fair linen cloth" was decorated with embroidery, lace, &c.,—have been subjects of legal inquiry. In the suits of Westerton, &c., *versus* Liddell, the Privy Council, overruling Dr. Lushington's judgment against the variety of colours, refers that matter to the ordinary, but decides against the embellishments of the linen cloth (Moore's Report, 72-6, 188). There have also been suits as to crosses, flowers, &c.]

[10] Charge, 1842, p. 48.

[11] Ch. Hist. b. vii. p. 374

The argument for lights runs thus :—By an act of parliament in the thirty-first year of Henry the Eighth, the authority of law was given to his proclamations, and to those which should be issued in the minority of his son. While this act was in force, injunctions were published in Edward the Sixth's name (1547), whereby it was ordered that the clergy "shall suffer from henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still."[12] This, it is said, was law in the second year of Edward; the rubric, therefore, we are told, now binds us to adorn our altars with the lights here sanctioned.

There is, however, great reason to question whether the injunctions of 1547 ever had that indirect authority, as law, which is here claimed for them;[13] and, even if they had, it would seem that, according to the language of the time, the words "before the sacrament" are to be construed as meaning *before the consecrated wafer*, which was reserved over the altar in a pyx or tabernacle; in which case it would follow that, when the practice of such reservation was abolished, the sanction which the lights derived from the injunction, as appendages of the sacrament, ceased.[14] But whether we suppose the injunction to relate to the reservation or to the celebration, there is, I think, sufficient evidence to prove that lights on the altar were never intended to continue in use after the publication of the first Prayer-Book of Edward.

In order to the clearer understanding of the question it will be expedient to begin at a period somewhat earlier than that of Edward's injunction.

[12] Doc. Ann. i. 7; see Cosin, v. 231, 305, 440.

[13] [See Dean Goode's Aids on Disputed Points, p. 12, Lond. 1851; and Mr. Stephens, Q.C., in the trial of Martin *v.* Mackonochie before the Court of Arches (Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 75, *seqq.*).]

[14] See Dr. Beaven in Brit. Mag., October, 1841.

1536. Cromwell, as Vicar-general, enjoins—"Ye shall . . . suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth across the church, by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre; which, for the adorning of the church and Divine service ye shall suffer to remain still," &c.[15] On this injunction it is to be observed—(1) that that of 1547 was evidently formed from it; and (2) that here we have a beginning of a reduction in the number of lights."[16]

The reduction was soon carried further. The King writes to Cranmer, Oct. 1541—"We by our injunctions commanded, that no offering or setting of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacrament of the altar."[17]

Such being the history previous to the sanction of two lights in the beginning of Edward's reign, we may be prepared to expect some further movement within no long time after the appearance of his injunctions; in like manner as images, which had also a qualified countenance from these, were very soon after done away with.

1547. Archbishop Cranmer, in his articles of inquiry, which were later than the royal injunctions, and founded on them, asks, "Whether [the clergy] suffer any torches, candles, tapers, or any other lights to be in churches, but only two lights on the high altar?"[18] "Whether they had upon Good Friday last past the sepulchres with their lights, having the sacrament therein?"[19] This refers to the Romish practice of reserving a wafer, consecrated on

[15] Wilkins, iii. 816.

[16] I may add that no inference is to be drawn from the mention of "the light before the sacrament" in the singular, since "the light *across* the church," and "the light *about* the sepulchre," must each have been composed of several lights.

[17] Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 490. [18] Doc. Ann. i. 43. [19] Ib. 48.

Maundy Thursday. The reservation of "the sacrament" seems to have been now confined to the high altar.

In October of the same year, we read of a young Frenchman, a sizar of St. John's, Cambridge, who pulled down the pyx in the chapel of his college, and of irregular proceedings of a like sort elsewhere.[20] Strype also speaks of "an injunction that the pyx should no more hang in a string over the altar."[21] He is not quite clear as to the date, and I have not met with this order; which, however, as we shall see, is not necessary for determining the question.

1548. The parish accounts of St. Martin's, Leicester, contain an entry — "For two pound of candles on Christmas-day, 5d."[22] This passage, which has been spoken of as conclusive in favour of the lights,[23] is irrelevant for two reasons. (1) It is earlier than that time in Edward's second year to which our rubric refers—the time when the first English Prayer-Book was sanctioned by authority of Parliament. (2) It is evident from the price that these candles were not of wax,[24] which is the material required for altar-lights. These, therefore, were candles of an inferior kind, used for lighting the church at the early mass which was celebrated on Christmas morning.[25]

> "That only night in all the year
> Saw the stoled priest the chalice rear."[26]

In January, 1549, at the end of Edward's second year, the first English Prayer-Book was ratified, having, accord-

[20] Strype, Cranmer, 163. [21] Eccl. Mem. ii. 116.

[22] Hierurgia Anglicana, p. 1. [23] Christian Remembrancer, Feb., 1844.

[24] Bishop Fleetwood states the price of wax in 1309 at 6½*d.* per lb. (Works, 404.) In parish accounts of the 15th and 16th centuries, printed in the British Magazine (iv. 146; xxxi. 247, 400, 527; xxxii. 36, 152, 280-2; xxxiv. 397, 407), it ranges from 5*d.* to 8*d.*; while wax candles for the use of Anne of Cleves, in 1556 (being probably charged at a royal rate), cost 1*s.* per lb. (Miss Strickland, 'Queens of England,' iv. 374.) In the college bills of Whitgift's Cambridge pupils, candles (doubtless of tallow) are charged 3*d.* per lb. Brit. Mag. Oct. and Nov. 1847.]

[25] Schmid. ii. 57-466. [26] Marmion, Introd. to Canto VI.

ing to Strype,[27] been printed in the summer of 1548. In it there is no mention of lights; and it is impossible that the pyx over the altar can have been used under its authority, since the book allows no reservation of the sacrament except for the purpose of being given on the day of consecration to such sick persons as shall, before the time of service, have engaged the curate to administer to them in private. Whether, therefore, the Injunction of 1547 was intended to sanction the two lights only in the character of appendages to the pyx, or whether we adopt the less probable opinion that it referred to lights used at the celebration, I do not hesitate to infer that they were not among the ornaments authorised at the time to which our rubric refers; and that the silence of the Prayer-Book as to these ornaments was intended to be construed as a prohibition, is proved by documents which were issued soon after. Bucer, indeed, writes, immediately after his arrival in England (April 26) that, as was reported to him, lights were retained by the new book; but this was before he was able to read it, as the Latin version was not yet ready.[28] A letter from Hooper to Bullinger, dated in the following December, has also been quoted, as if his complaints of the use of candles, &c., were directed against the authorised practice of the Reformed Church. But it is clear that, although Hooper's views of reformation were rather foreign than English, the things of which he complains in this letter[29] were mostly done by the Romanizing and reactionary party, in opposition to the spirit of the Prayer-Book. In order to check such practices, a paper of "Articles to be followed and observed, according to the King's Majesty's injunctions and proceedings," was issued within no long time after the publication of the book, on the intention of which as to certain points these articles may be regarded as an authorised commentary. Among other things, it is ordered "That all parsons omit in the reading

[27] Eccl. Mem. ii. 87. [28] Epp. Tigur. 349, (Park. Soc.) [29] Ib. 46.

of the injunctions [of 1547 which it was their duty to read in churches periodically] such as make mention of candles upon the altar." "That no minister do counterfeit the Popish mass, as [by] . . setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time; and, finally, to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayer."[30]

In the same year, the Devonshire rebels, who rose in opposition to the Reformation, made this demand—"We will have the sacrament hang over the high altar, and there to be worshipped as it was wont to be."[31]

1550. Bishop Ridley, in Articles and Injunctions for London,[32] asks "Whether there be any images in your church, ... candles, &c.;" and repeats the orders of the late injunctions as to omissions in reading those of 1547, avoiding an imitation of the mass, and keeping to the ceremonies prescribed in the Prayer-Book.[33]

In the same year, Cranmer inquires at Canterbury Cathedral, "Whether you use any other ceremonies at the Communion or other Divine service than is mentioned or allowed in the same book [of Common Prayer]?[34] The Archbishop had already, in sending forth a translation of a German Catechism, substituted another cut for one in which a foreign artist had represented an altar with lights on it;[35] and in 1551 he reckons "lighting candles to the sacrament" among Popish abuses.[36]

[30] [Doc. Ann. i. 63. These articles were published by Burnet, with the title given in the text. The copy from which he printed them has not been found, and hence occasion has lately been taken to deny their authority. There can, however, be no doubt that they are a genuine document of the time; and even if they were not (as Dr. Cardwell, with great probability, describes them) "instructions given in charge to the visitors on a new royal visitation," but were the work of some bishop or other ordinary, grounded on royal injunctions which are now lost, their value as evidence would not be impaired. It will be seen how exactly they fit into their place in the history.]

[31] Cranmer's Works, ed. Jenkyns, i. 218.

[32] Doc. Ann. i. 80-2.

[33] So, too, Hooper, Later Writings, 127-8.

[34] Works, ii. 159, ed. Park. Soc.

[35] See Burton, Pref. to Cranmer's Catechism, xx. (Oxf. 1829); Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 227.

[36] Works, ed. Park. Soc. i. 238.

1552. Articles of Religion, No. XXIX. "The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not commanded by Christ's ordinance to be kept, carried about, lifted up, nor worshipped." This is now in our XXVIIIth article, and is a condemnation of the practice with which the lights seem to be connected by the injunction of 1547.

1553. Aug. 21. "Mass began [after Edward's death] at St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, sung in Latin, and tapers set on the altar, and a cross." [37]

1555. Cardinal Pole orders in his legatine constitutions, "ut in qualibet ecclesia parochiali fiat tabernaculum [38] decens et honestum, cum sera et clavi, quod in altum elevatum in medio summi altaris affigatur, in quo tabernaculo sanctissimum eucharistiae sacramentum custodiatur," and, where it can be afforded, "ut perpetuo lampas vel cereus coram sanctissimo hoc sacramento ardeat." [39]

1557. The Cardinal, in his articles for the diocese of Canterbury, asks—"Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the sacrament," and orders "if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition." [40]

In these two passages last quoted, as also in Cromwell's orders of 1536, we have the very phrase of King Edward's injunction, so that, according to these parallels, that

[37] Strype, Ecc. Mem. iii. 22. He continues, "And here I cannot but make this remark upon the incumbent of the said St. Nicholas, whose name was Parson Chicken, that he sold his wife to a butcher, and, Nov. 24, was carted about London."

[38] By this order the foreign custom of keeping the pyx in a tabernacle was substituted for that which had been used in England, of hanging it up in a string. The reason of the change may probably be inferred from an article proposed in the Convocation of 1557:—"Paretur locus vel circiter medium altaris vel ad ejus cornu, in quo sacrosancta eucharistia sub sera sancte custodiatur, *ne in eam impii sacramentarii aliquando impetum faciant.*" (Synodalia, 454.) The hanging pyx had also been used in France, but never in Italy (Martene, i. 252), [and is still in use at Amiens, Chartres, and other places (Pugin's Glossary, 112)]; cf. Dublin Review, No. XX. p. 337. See also Cranmer, i. 143, 146; Jewel, i. 555-7 (Park. Soc.).

[39] Doc. Ann. i. 146-7.

[40] Ib. 174.

injunction ought to be interpreted as connecting the two lights with the reservation of the sacrament.

1559. Fecknam, a Romanist, says, in contrasting Queen Mary's days with those since her death :—"There was no most blasphemously treading of the sacrament under their feet, and hanging up the knave of clubs in the place thereof."[41]

1559. In Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, which, both as to their matter and as to their order, are for the most part copied from those of 1547, the room of that by which the lights were sanctioned is occupied by one relating to a different subject, while those immediately before and after remain in their former places.[42] This circumstance might of itself be sufficient to prove that lights were not intended among the ornaments which the rubric of the same date ordered to be retained.

1560. Jan. 6. Sampson, who had been an exile in Mary's time, and had taken up strong opinions as to the unlawfulness of some rites and ceremonies, writes thus to Peter Martyr of the prospect under Elizabeth :—"Quid ego sperem, cum exulet ex aulâ Christi ministerium, admittatur autem Crucifixi imago cum accensis luminaribus ?[43] Altaria quidem sunt diremta, et imagines per totum regnum ; in solâ aulâ Crucifixi imago cum candelis retinetur." He puts the case :—"Si princeps ita injungat omnibus episcopis et pastoribus, ut vel admittant in suas ecclesias imaginem cum candelis, vel ministerio Christi cedant, quid hic faciendum sit ?"[44] No such measure, however, had as yet been adopted,

[41] Cardw. Conf. 103. Besides such deeds, readers of the history of the time will observe much abominable language as to the pyx on the part of the extreme reformers. Fox revels in ribaldry on this and kindred subjects.

[42] Doc. Ann. i. 180.

[43] This agrees with the Rubric xx. of the Roman Missal—"Super altare collocetur crux in medio, et candelabra saltem duo, cum candelis accensis, hinc et inde, in utroque ejus latere."

[44] I have followed the copy in the Zurich Letters (No. 27), which differs slightly from those before published, and professes to be more accurate.

nor were this writer and those who thought with him put to the trial here contemplated at any later time.

1560. Bishop Jewel, in his Challenge at St. Paul's Cross, defies the Romanists to show "that the sacrament was [in the first 600 years] or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy."[45] The subject was afterwards fully discussed by him in his Defence against Harding.

1561. Accounts of St. Helen's, Abingdon (Archæologia, vol. i.) "Paid for four pounds of candles upon Christmas-day in the morning for the mass, 12d."[46] This is adduced in the 'Hierurgia Anglicana' (p. 3) as evidence in favour of lights on the altar; but it is to be explained in the same way as the entry of Christmas 1548, already quoted. There is a similar charge in the same accounts, 1574.

1562. Bishop Parkhurst to Bullinger, Aug. 20. "Evangelium ad me adfertur, crucem scilicet, et candelabra in capellâ Reginae esse comminuta, et, ut quidam retulit, in cinerem redacta."[47] This seems to relate to the exploit of the Queen's fool, who broke the crucifix at the instigation of Sir Francis Knolles—"no wiser man daring to undertake such a desperate service."[48]

1563. The same to the same, April 26. "Scripsi ad te, crucem, cereos, candelabra, e Reginae capellâ abducta; sed paullo post sunt reducta, magno piorum moerore. Cerei antea quotidie incendebantur; nunc minime."[49]

1563. Homily on Peril of Idolatry—"In the day it needeth not, but was ever a proverb of foolishness, to light a candle at noontime."[50]

[45] Doc. Ann. i. 255.

[46] Mr. Pugin (Dub. Rev. No. xxiii. 172) infers from this and other entries, that the parish "adhered to the ancient rites for some time;" but an examination of the accounts in the Archæologia has convinced me that the inference is mistaken. The retention of the word *mass* proves nothing; it had been retained in the first reformed Prayer-Book, and Cartwright is a witness that it was still used by "the ignorant sort" in 1577. Second Reply, ii. 234.

[47] Zurich Letters, No. 53.

[48] Heylyn, Hist. Ref. 296.

[49] Zurich Letters, No. 57.

[50] p. 215, ed. Oxf. 1832. To the same purpose, see Becon, iii. 257, ed.

1566. In the returns made to royal commissioners by the churchwardens of Lincolnshire parishes, there is frequent mention of "ij candlesticks" as having been part of the furniture of a church, but as having been destroyed, sold, or otherwise alienated since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.[51]

1567. Bishops Grindal and Horn write to Gualter, "Accensos cereos et ejus generis alia, ex legum praescripto nunquam revocanda, penitus amisit [*omisit?*] ecclesia Anglicana."[52] This statement evidently applies to all lights, although it was called forth by a question as to tapers used at baptism.[53]

Harding reproaches the Reformed—"Ye raise up the heresy of Vigilantius, in refusing to . . . keep lights in churches to the honour of God."[54] Again—"If lights at the Gospel and Communion be not had, . . . judge ye whether ye have duly kept the old ceremonies of the Church."[55] Jewel replies[56] by adducing passages to prove that lights were not used in the early Church in the manner here intended,—thus leaving it to be concluded that the Anglican Church did not retain any.

1571–6. Grindal, both at York and at Canterbury, includes candlesticks among "reliques of superstition and idolatry," which he wishes to be "utterly defaced and destroyed;"[57] and in this he is followed by Piers, archbishop of York, 1590.

1606. Andrew Melville, the loted Presbyterian, was sent to the Tower, "where," says Walton, "he remained very angry for three years."[58] One of his offences was

Park. Soc.; Calfhill, Answer to Martial, 214, 302-3; Discourse of Ceremonies, published with Andrewes's 'Catechistical Doctrine,' p. 372. [The Rev. J. O. W. Haweis has also kindly furnished me with some passages against "candles at noonday," from contemporary MS. notes of sermons by Bp. Bullingham.]

[51] English Church Furniture, 1566, edited by E. Peacock, F.S.A., Lond. 1866. [52] Zurich Letters, No. 75. [53] Ib. App. 358.
[54] Ap. Jewel, Def. Apol. 12. [55] p. 19. [56] p. 21.
[57] Remains, 136, 159. [58] Eccl. Biog. iv. 14.

that he had written satirical verses on the ornaments of the chapel-royal, among which verses was this :—

"Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo."[59]

1623. Tapers are ordered for the Prince's chapel at Madrid, as we have already seen.[60]

1628. Peter Smart, in his sermon on the text, "I have hated them that hold of superstitious vanities," preached in Durham Cathedral immediately after some decorations and reforms had been introduced by his brethren of the Chapter, complains of "candlesticks and crucifixes; burning wax candles in excessive number, when and where there is no need of lights."[61] This puritan, however, deals in such extravagances of slanderous exaggeration that it is impossible to know what foundation there really was for his charges.

1628. Among Ferrar's furniture at Little Gidding are mentioned "two large wax candles on the communion-table." There were other candles, "not for purposes of superstition, but for real use, to give them light when they could not see without them."[62]

1633. At Charles the First's Coronation at Edinburgh, where the ceremonies were under the direction of Laud, "Now it is markit that there was ane four-nooked taffill manner of ane altar[63] standing within the kirk, having standing thereupon twa bookis,[64] at least resembling claspit bookis, callit *blind bookis*, with twa chandleris and twa wax candles, quhilkis war on lichtit,[65] and ane bason wherein there was nothing; at the back of this altar, coverit with tapestry, there was ane rich tapestry, wherein the crucifix was curiously wrocht, and as thir [*i. e.*] those bishopis who

[59] Fuller, Ch. Hist. b. x. 70; M'Crie's Life of Melville, ii. 240, ed. 1.
[60] p. 18. [61] p. 23, ed. 1640.
[62] Eccl. Biog. iv. 176-249. [63] *i.e.* table kind of altar.
[64] Cosin, in Nicholls, App. 34, orders a Bible and a Prayer-Book to be set on. [65] *i. e.* unlighted. See Appendix II.

was in service past by this crucifix, they were seen to bow their knee, and beck, which, with their habit [copes] was notit, and bred great fear of inbringing of Popery." [66]

Archbishop Laud, making statutes for cathedrals, found the holy table placed at Canterbury in the manner which he approved, and recommended "candlesticks, bason, and carpet." [67] He was accused at his trial of "administering the sacrament with some more solemnities than in ordinary parochial churches, though constantly observed in his Majesty's chapels." [68]

1641. The Lords' committee is to inquire into "advancing candlesticks in many churches, upon the altar, so-called." [69] The Commons on Sept. 8 of this year ordered their removal.[70]

Although the use of candles in parish-churches seems to be here meant, it does not appear that it was enjoined by any bishop of the time. There is nothing of the kind in the Norwich articles of Wren and Montagu, nor is the former prelate charged with any such order in his impeachment, where we may be very sure that nothing would have been omitted which could have given the slightest pretext for an accusation. I have also looked into some of the venomous little pamphlets of charges against parochial clergymen of the Laudian school, without finding any mention of candles; whence we may conclude that the use of them was not general even among the most ceremonial of the parochial clergy.[71] Puritans never complain of being obliged to set up candles; they are not enjoined or inquired after by any bishop or archdeacon whose articles have fallen in my way, from the accession of Elizabeth downwards, although so many other ornaments and articles of

[66] Spalding, Troubles in Scotland, ed. Spalding Club, i. 36.
[67] Heylyn, 274. [68] Ib. 491.
[69] Cardw. Conf. 272. [70] Nalson, ii. 482.
[71] Mr. Markland, however, gives a copy of a contemporary print, in which candles are represented on the altar of a church. (Remarks on English Churches, 3rd ed. p. 29.)

furniture[72] are mentioned, that these could not have been omitted if they were held necessary. I have not observed any notice of them in Cartwright, Whitgift, or Hooker; nor are they enumerated among the church-furniture in the collection of poems entitled 'The Synagogue,' written in the time of Charles I., and usually printed with Herbert's 'Temple.'

Cosin, indeed,[73] prescribes that at communion-time, "two wax candles are to be set on;" but—(besides that he may have had in view the celebration in a cathedral, a royal chapel, or the chapel of a college, as he had borne authority in places which come under each of these heads)—his note (written before he was a bishop) is no injunction;[74] nor is any such order found in his injunctions either as bishop or as archdeacon. Unless, therefore, Cosin's private notes had been published half a century after his death, we should have heard nothing of his authority as to the general obligation of the lights.

It has been very commonly assumed by the advocates of lights that they were in general use until removed by

[72] *e.g.* The communion-table, its covering, the pulpit, the commandments, the font with its cover, the Bible, Prayer-Book, Homilies, Erasmus's Paraphrase, Fox's Acts and Monuments, Jewel's Works, poor-box, sentences of Scripture on the walls, reading-pew, cup, flagon, pulpit-cushion, book of canons, surplice, royal arms, register-chest, table of forbidden degrees, &c.

[73] Works, v. 231, 438.

[74] He writes at p. 441, that by virtue of the rubric, the lights were continued in all Queen Elizabeth's chapels, "and so they are in all the King's, and in many cathedral churches, besides the chapels of divers noblemen, bishops, and colleges to this day." There seems to be really no ground for saying that Edward's injunctions were alleged as the authority for the Queen's candles; if they had been so alleged, the plea would hardly have been unnoticed. We shall probably be more correct if we refer Elizabeth's proceedings to her own pleasure. Archbishop Williams supposes that she wished "to comply with foreign princes, and to make them believe she was not so far esloigned from the Catholic religion as was bruited abroad," for which opinion he quotes the testimony of French writers. (Holy Table, p. 39.) It is to be observed that Cosin does not mention parish-churches, nor give any hint of general obligation to use the lights.

the Puritans in the Great Rebellion. Enough, I trust, has been said to shew that this assumption is quite groundless. It would appear rather, that the silence of the Prayer-Book of Edward's second year as to these ornaments, whether as connected with the reservation or with the celebration of the holy eucharist, was intended to be understood as a prohibition; that this prohibition was enforced by the authorities of the time; and that, when the ornaments of Edward's second year were restored by the rubric of 1559, the lights were not supposed to be included among them. They were re-established in the royal chapels by Elizabeth, not from any authority of the Church, or with a reference to her brother's injunctions of 1547, but because of her own personal tastes;[75] and candlesticks have been ever since continued in royal chapels,[76] after the model of which they were adopted in many private chapels of bishops and noblemen, as also in colleges. They seem to have been wanting in most or all cathedrals until the time of Laud, and to have been generally retained in churches of this class since the Restoration of Charles II.

I believe, therefore, that in the places where these ornaments have a degree of authority, it is derived from some other source than the rubric now under consideration; and that there is no authority whatever for using them in churches and chapels of the parochial class.

A few words may be added as to the lighting of the candles.[77] This is certainly meant in the injunction of 1547; Queen Elizabeth's lights were burning when she first exhibited the obnoxious ornaments; and although a change was soon made in this respect, and Melville found

[75] It is to be observed that Elizabeth's lights were burnt at times when there was no celebration of the sacrament. See Mr. Stephens's argument in Martin *v.* Mackonochie.

[76] [This had not, I believe, been attempted in 1843-4.]

[77] In St. Bavon's church, at Ghent, are four very handsome copper candlesticks, each ten feet high, bearing the arms of Charles I., and supposed to have belonged to Whitehall chapel.

the candles in her successor's chapel *lumina cæca*, it appears that the practice of lighting was revived on some occasions (probably at Communion) in Whitehall chapel during the reign of Charles I. Together with this fact (if it may be so reckoned)[78] as to the chapel-royal, we learn that the candles in Laud's chapel at Lambeth were not lighted;[79] even Prynne appears to acquit the archbishop on this point.[80]

With the questionable exception of those in the royal chapel at Whitehall, it would seem that the candles of that time were not lighted.[81] Neal, indeed, reports that Warmistre, one of the representatives of Worcester in the convocation of 1640,[82] expressed a wish, in a speech, "that there might be no lighted candles in the day-time."[83] On looking, however, into the speech itself (which was published as a tract), I have not found anything relating to the subject, except the following words, which evidently imply *un*-lighted candles—"I know not why we should have candles in the day-time; I wish there may not be so much as an emblem of a fruitless prelacy or clergy in the church, that only fill the candlestick, but give no light." The same conclusion is supported by the puritanical Durandism of a pamphlet entitled 'Vox Borealis' (A.D. 1641), where it is related that a person "coming into a new-altered church, and looking upon their implements, told his friend that was with him that their two dark tapers betokened blindness and ignorance."[84]

[78] It seems to rest merely on Dr. Haywood's statement, at Laud's trial, that he had seen candles burning at Whitehall. (Rushworth, ii. 279; Cant. Doom, quoted in Hier. Angl. 339.) There is, however, a print, copied in the 'Hierurgia,' which represents the candles as lighted.

[79] Rushworth, ii. 279.

[80] Canterbury's Doom, 62-3.

[81] This appears to be certain from a passage in "Reasons showing the Necessity of Reformation by divers Ministers" (a puritan tract of 1660, quoted in the Hierurgia Angl. p. 329), where it is said of the Laudian party—"They must have all (except candles lighted) that are upon the popish altars where mass is used."

[82] Probably the same who became Dean of Worcester after the Restoration.

[83] Hist. of Puritans, ii. 9, ed. 1837.

[84] Harleian. Misc. iv. 427.

Before passing from this subject, it may be well to notice the spirit and purpose of King Edward's injunction. The clergy were ordered by it to do away with all candles in churches, but only two lights on the high altar, which for the signification that Christ is the very true Light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still;" *suffer*, out of consideration for the feelings of people who had been accustomed to lights in their churches, to *remain* in places where they had previously been, *for the signification* of a truth with which the many lighted altars of former times, and the corruptions of belief and of worship connected with them, had seriously interfered. Even, therefore, if the injunction had not been abrogated (as I believe that it has been), the change of circumstances would warrant us in declining to re-introduce as a novelty an ornament which is as offensive to the popular feeling of our own day as it was agreeable to that of 1547, and which is no longer needed, or even intelligible, as a protest against the error of unduly reverencing the saints.[85]

(*b.*) *Ornaments of the Minister generally.*

The authority for these is different from that which is alleged for lights on the altar; being the rubric of the Prayer-Book which in the second year of King Edward was sanctioned by Act of Parliament.[86]

Of the ornaments there prescribed, the *rochette* and *staff*

[85] [The later history of the controversy as to lights will be found in the articles from the 'Quarterly Review.']

[86] I believe, in fact, that the intention, both of the Act of Uniformity and of the rubric in 1559, was simply to restore those articles which had been expressly prescribed in the Book of 1549, and forbidden in that of 1552; among which the lights are notoriously not included. It has, however, seemed best to conduct the argument as to lights so as to meet their advocates more on their own grounds. [The interpretation here proposed has been since laid down by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in the cases of Westerton *v.* Liddell, 1857 (Moore's Report, p. 157), and of Martin *v.* Mackonochie, 1868.]

belong to bishops only, and therefore do not fall within the limits of the present inquiry; and as to the *vestment* (or chasuble), the *tunicle* (or dalmatic), and the *albe*,[87] it need only be said that they were done away with at a later time in Edward's reign, and do not appear to have been used since the rubric of 1559 authorized their revival.[88]

The *surplice* has always been prescribed, and is now universally used, as the dress to be generally worn in public service. The only questions with respect to it are, —whether it *may* be worn at the celebration of the holy communion instead of the cope or vestment? and— whether it *must* be worn in preaching, to the exclusion of the gown?[89]

[87] In the Lincolnshire returns of 1566 (see p. 74), there is frequent mention of the conversion of albes into surplices at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign (*e.g.* pp. 30, 36). The same appears to have been done at St. Paul's, London (Pugin, Glossary, 8). The 'Hierurgia Anglicana' produces extracts from a puritan pamphlet of 1660, where it is said that at a consecration the bishops elect appeared "in their albs;" and from Kennet's 'Register,' where it is stated that at the enthronement of Brian Walton as bishop of Chester, in 1661, the members of the cathedral were "habited in their albs" (p. 167). But the word here seems certainly to mean merely the same as "whites" in the rules for Holyrood chapel (Heylyn, Life of Laud, 292)—not the garments specially known as albes.

[88] [As to this matter things have changed since 1844.]

[89] In a passage quoted by Hooker (iv. 4, 2) the puritans object to the surplice, "Si de forma agitur, talaris vestis honestior." The word *talaris* is rendered by Hooker "down to the foot;" and is defined by a convocation of Queen Mary's reign to mean "neque nimia longitudine caudam trahens, neque nimia brevitate crura tibiasque demonstrans." (Synodalia, 477.) It would seem, therefore, that the surplice of Hooker's age was not "talar," but was rather like the shorter surplice which some of our clergy have adopted, in imitation of the Roman usage. (See Gavanti, i. 142, 553; Martene, iii. 262.) But that the flowing vesture is more primitive, is acknowledged even by writers of the Roman communion, as Krazer (368-9), Dr. Rock (Hierurgia), Schmid (i. 96), and Mr. Pugin, who, in his 'Glossary,' strenuously advocates the older form. See also Jebb, Choral Service, 219. Stephen of Tournay, in the end of the 13th century, sends as a present, "superpelliceum novum, candidum et *talare*." Ep. 106. (See the editor's note in Migne, Patrol. Lat. ccxi.)

(c.) *The Dress for Ministering at the Altar.*

1549. A rubric orders that the chief officiating priest, or celebrant,

> "shall at the time appointed for the ministration of the holy communion, put on him a white albe, plain,[90] with a vestment or cope;"[91] and that the assistant ministers, where there are any, "shall have upon albes, with tunicles."[92]

1552. It is directed in the second Book, that

> "the minister at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither albe, vestment, nor cope;" that "being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only."[93]

1559. Guest, afterwards bishop of Rochester, reports to Cecil that he and others who had been commissioned to

[90] Albes, notwithstanding their name, were of various colours. By "plain" is meant without apparels, which were ornaments of silk and gold, &c. Pugin, Glossary, 8.

[91] The word *cope*, as used in our rubrics and other documents, signifies exclusively the *pluviale* of Roman ritualists. *Capa* or *cappa* is a word of much wider meaning, and may in many places be rendered a *cloak*. (See Martene, iii. 262; Ducange, s. v. *Capa;* Bona, Rer. Liturg. i. 24-17; Pugin, Glossary, art. *Cope;* Dansey, on Rural Deans, i. 270; ii. 24-5.) The English word *cope* had a like wideness of meaning in Chaucer's time. (See Tyrwhitt's Glossary, s. v. *cope* and *semicope*.) In the Sarum Missal, we find that sometimes the clergy are to be vested in *cappæ* of various colours, and in such cases silk is specified as the material; but it is not so when the cappæ are black, and in one place we read—"clerici de secunda forma, in cappis nigris, hoc est, in habitu quotidiano." A friend informs me that the word is used in the Oxford Statutes to denote the "habit" worn by Doctors at University sermons.

[92] Keeling, 167. Bingham, overlooking this rubric, and supposing one in another part of the book to be the only order as to vestments, has wrongly charged Baxter with misrepresentation of our Church's directions in the matter. (French Church's Apology, b. iii. c. 7.) It appears from Johnson's 'Vade-mecum' that the same mistake has been made by others.

[93] Keeling, 3.

revise the Prayer-Book are unfavourable to any difference of habit at communion. In the Book, however, when published, was a rubrical order that the minister should use the ornaments of King Edward's second year "at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration."[94] The insertion of this is ascribed to the Queen herself.[95]

1561. The Bishops' interpretations of the Queen's injunctions:—"That there be used only but one apparel; as the cope in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, and the surplice in all other ministrations."[96]

Sandys to P. Martyr, April 1, 1560. "Tantum manent in ecclesia nostra vestimenta illa papistica, capas intellige, quas diu non duraturas speramus."[97] Sandys' gloss on the late rubric has been already quoted at p. 64.

1563. Archbishop Parker inquires whether the clergy wear a surplice as "prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions and by the Book of Common Prayer," but makes no mention of the cope.[98]

1564. It is reported that at Canterbury Cathedral, "the priest which ministereth, the pistoler and gospeller, wear copes" at the administration; and that surplices are worn at the holy table when there is no communion.[99]

1565. The advertisements issued by the Bishops prescribe a surplice at communion in parish-churches; a cope in cathedral and collegiate churches; where, however, a surplice was to be worn "at all other prayers to be said at the communion-table."[100]

1566. From the Lincolnshire documents of this year, it appears that in some cases copes and vestments had been borrowed for use under Mary from persons into whose hands they had passed during the latter part of Edward's reign, and that soon after the accession of Elizabeth they

[94] Keeling, 3. [95] Cardw. Conf. pp. 21, 50. [96] Doc. Ann. i. 205.
[97] Zurich Letters, No. 31. [98] Rit. Com. Rep. ii. 403.
[99] Strype, Parker, 183. [100] Doc. Ann. i. 291.

were returned to the private owners, as being no longer required for the service of the Church.[1]

Grindal inquires at Canterbury, 1576, whether the minister "do wear any cope in a parish-church or chapel," as if it were unlawful to do so.[2] Whitgift, 1584, speaks of the surplice as "required" at communion as well as at other times.[3] Piers, archbishop of York, 1590, inquires "whether all copes, vestments, albes, tunicles, . . . and such like reliques of popish superstition and idolatry, be utterly defaced and destroyed." From these extracts it will appear that after the publication of the Advertisements, the use of copes in parish-churches was regarded, not only as no duty, but, by some prelates, at least, as an offence against authority.

These vestures soon fell into disuse, even in cathedrals. Thus at Canterbury, 1573, "they had still remaining a great many old copes, which were to be disposed of as the Archbishop thought best." The Dean was charged with "having made away with the copes of the church; which he confessed, because it had been agreed by the chapter that all the copes should be made away, and that he had two of them, and paid £15 for the same."[4] The copes at King's College, Cambridge, too, were sold before 1576.[5] In some Articles of Inquiry, as in those of Thornborough, bishop of Bristol (1603), and of Babington, bishop of Worcester (1607), copes are named among the "popish reliques and monuments of superstition" which were not to be kept even in any private house.[6]

1604. Heylyn[7] writes, "This vesture having been discontinued (I know not by what fatal negligence) many years together, it pleased the bishops and clergy in the

[1] *e.g.* "a cope, which we borrowed of Mrs. Stringar, and restored to her again anno primo Elizabethæ not defaced."—Peacock, p. 30.

[2] Remains, 159.

[3] Strype, Whitg. App. p. 50.

[4] Strype, Parker, 444.

[5] Strype, Annals, ii. 421.

[6] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 444, 456.

[7] Life of Laud, p. 6.

convocation to pass a canon to this purpose;"—"In all cathedral and collegiate churches, the holy communion shall be administered upon principal feast-days, the principal minister using a decent cope, and being assisted with the gospeller and epistler agreeably, according to advertisements published anno 7 Eliz."[8]

At the same time, the LVIIIth canon gave order for "ministers reading Divine service, and administering the sacraments, to wear surplices."

Under Archbishop Bancroft, we are told, "the use of copes was revived, and the surplice generally worn."[9] It is, of course, to be understood that the copes were worn according to the limitations of the late canons; these having been chiefly drawn up by Bancroft himself while bishop of London. He appears, indeed, to have gone a step further, in prescribing for his own cathedral, 1608, that the epistle and gospel be read in copes *every* Sunday and holy-day;[10] but although he inquires about habits at Wells cathedral in 1605, there is no mention of the cope in his articles on that occasion.[11]

The cope fell again into general disuse in cathedrals during Abbot's primacy, although retained in the royal chapels. Laud prescribed its restoration in cathedrals,[12] but did not give any such direction for parish-churches, and even repeated the inquiry which has been quoted from earlier bishops as to the private keeping of copes "for a day."[13] Even for the University church at Oxford, on the most solemn public occasions—viz. at the administration of the holy communion by the Vice-chancellor in the beginning of term—he is content to order a surplice.[14] And although the committee of 1641 suggest that "the rubric should be mended, where all vestments are commanded

[8] Can. xxiv. [9] Collier, ii. 687. [10] Wilkins, iv. 436.
[11] Ib. 415. [12] *e.g.* at Winchester, Works, v. 478.
[13] Articles for London, 1628, ib. 414. [14] Ib. 157.

which were used 2 Edw. VI.,"[15] and the Presbyterians of 1660 find fault with it as *seeming* to order copes, it is evident that no such vestment had ever been used within their knowledge in parochial churches. The bishops, in their reply to the Presbyterians, while they do not agree to an alteration, give no other reason for the refusal than a reference to their general defence of ceremonies; in which there is nothing, so far as I have observed, that can throw any special light on this subject.[16]

1662. The words "at all times of their ministration" were substituted for those of the earlier rubric—"at the time of the communion, and at all other times in his ministration." The change is not without significance; since, while the two forms are in themselves equivalent, the earlier appears intended to *suggest* the fact that a peculiar dress is prescribed for the communion, which is much less likely to be suspected from the rubric as it now stands.

1681. Thoresby saw "rich embroidered copes" at Durham cathedral;[17] where the full splendour of the ritual had been restored by Bishop Cosin, who held the see from 1661 to 1671.[18]

1686. From the manner in which Evelyn mentions the vestures of James the Second's Romish clergy (apparently copes and chasubles), it would seem that he had not been accustomed to see such garments in the English Church.[19]

"The ancient copes, used till some time in the last century, still exist at Durham; and at Westminster,[20] as

[15] Cardw. Conf. 274. [16] See Cardw. Conf. 314-351.

[17] Hook, 'Call to Union,' p. 158. [It is stated in Mr. J. H. Blunt's 'Annotated Prayer-Book,' that Bp. Cosin, in his Prayer-Book preserved at Durham, after altering the rubric to its present form, began to make out a list of the vestures, but "gave over the task after writing the word *Surplice*" (p. lxvi). Perhaps we may infer that he saw no hope of reviving the cope, &c.]

[18] See his Devotions, ed. 1838, p. vi. [19] Diary, Dec. 99.

[20] It appears that a cope of cloth of gold, with the Tudor roses and portcullises, said to have formerly belonged to Westminster Abbey, is now at

tradition informs us, they were used till about the same time."[21] Their use at Durham is said to have been abolished through the influence of Warburton, who became prebendary in 1755.[22]

I have not met with any later notice of the cope, except as used at coronations.

The general rubric relating to ornaments corresponds, as we have seen, with a passage in the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz., to which is attached a provision that the ornaments shall be retained "until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of her commissioners appointed and authorized under the great seal for causes ecclesiastical, or of the Metropolitan of this realm." On this, Bishop Gibson[23] and Burn[24] say that no other order ever was taken in the manner here described, and therefore the LVIIIth canon, by which surplices are ordered to be worn at the administration of the sacraments in parish churches, is void, as being opposed to the act. [But in opposition to this opinion, Archdeacon Harrison appears to have proved that the conditions laid down in the act of uniformity were entirely fulfilled by the advertisements of 1565, which were popularly known as "The Queen's Book."[25] And the same view is taken by Sir Roundell Palmer and the other eminent lawyers who were consulted by the bishops in 1866.[26]] The older writers appear to have had no doubt on the point. Thus, when the puritans "noted certain contrarieties as between the communion book and advertisements touching church-vestures," Whitgift told them that they were "much deceived; for," he adds, "I suppose that in matters of ornaments the Queen's Majesty, together with the archbishop

the Jesuits' College of Stonyhurst. Pugin, Glossary, 77; cf. Digby, Mores Catholici, v. 89, ed. 1.

[21] Jebb, Choral Service, 216.

[22] Brit. Mag. vi. 40.

[23] Codex, i. 363.

[24] Eccl. Law, iii. 437; cf. Cardw. D. A. i. 287, and Conf. 39.

[25] Hist. Inquiry, 81-127.

[26] Rit. Comm. Rep. i. 139-140.

or the commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, have authority by act of parliament to alter and appoint such rites and ceremonies as shall from time to time be thought most convenient."[27] And when the rubric was re-enacted in 1662, it is not to be supposed that those who re-enacted it intended to contradict and abrogate the LVIIIth canon, any more than we suppose the framers of the canons of 1604 to have intended self-contradiction when they ordered in the XIVth that the Prayer-Book should be strictly complied with, and in the LVIIIth, that a surplice should be worn where the Prayer-Book in strictness prescribed a cope.[28] This idea as to their intentions is strengthened by the circumstance, which has been noticed above, that the rubric of 1662 is not precisely the same with that of Queen Elizabeth, but has undergone a slight alteration. The two revisers who were most noted for ritual knowledge, Cosin and Sparrow, both quote the advertisements of 1565 as an unquestioned interpretation of the rubric.[29] Laud speaks of copes, not as *commanded* by the *rubric*, but as *allowed* or *warranted* by the *canon*.[30]

It is remarkable that, whereas the book of 1549 prescribed indifferently the use of "a vestment or cope," the vestment (or chasuble) which was the proper eucharistic dress of the mediæval church, has been utterly disused from the time when the rubric of 1549 was revived by the act of Elizabeth. The cope alone is mentioned by the advertisements of 1565 and by the canons of 1604, and copes appear to have been spared where chasubles were destroyed.[31]

[27] Works, iii. 510, ed. Park. Soc. See too Wither in Zurich Letters, ii. 95; Bennett's Hist. of Common Prayer, p. 5. (Lond. 1708.)

[28] We may account for the retention of the rubric by supposing that the revisers did not wish to seem to yield to the puritans. If they had done so, demands for the abolition of the cope in cathedrals would no doubt have followed; and this the revisers were not disposed to concede.

[29] Cosin, Works, v. 90; Sparrow, Rationale, 311.

[30] Troubles, 316-326.

[31] See Peacock's Church Furniture in 1566.

(*d.*) *The Preaching-dress.*

A surplice has been usually worn by preachers in cathedral and collegiate churches, and in the chapels of colleges;[32] and also very commonly by the poor clergy of remote districts, such as Wales and Cumberland. In churches of an intermediate kind, a gown has long been the pulpit-dress, worn by clergymen of all opinions, and not supposed to be any badge of a party. Such was the authority of this custom, that we find the late respected Bishop Jebb making it "a particular request that every member of his diocese provide himself with a decent black gown;" and this because "the senses and imagination are to be enlisted in the service of religion."[33]

Of late, however, we have heard very different opinions; the gown has been decried as a "relic of puritanism," a "Genevan rag," utterly unauthorized, and unknown in our pulpits until the times of the Great Rebellion. On some of these assertions it may be observed, before going further, that gowns are authorized as a part of the ordinary clerical dress, and are still worn out of doors in the universities; at the worst, therefore, they become puritanical, Genevan, and rags only when worn in the pulpit. In the following notices will be found some helps towards determining whether even there they be intolerable, and tokens or relics of puritanism.

1549. Edward the Sixth's first Book. "In the saying of matins and evensong, baptizing and burying, the minister in parish churches and chapels annexed to the same shall use a surplice; and in all cathedral churches and colleges, the archdeacons, deans, pro-

[32] [The rule of cathedrals was that members of the foundation should wear the surplice, and that strangers who were admitted to preach should wear the gown (see Harrison, 153). But this distinction, which furnished an argument for the lawfulness of the gown, has lately been abolished in some places. 1869.]

[33] Charge, 1823, in Pastoral Instructions, 208.

vosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the choir beside their surplices, such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees; but in all other places, every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, should use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees."[34]

This rule is revived by our present rubric. Bishop Blomfield appears to think[35] that it prescribes the surplice for preaching. According to Sharp's view of it, on the contrary, the ordinary clerical dress is to be worn in preaching, graduates wearing hoods in addition.[36] And from the fact that no mention is here made of marrying and churching, it has been inferred by Burn[37] that a surplice is not necessarily required for these rites.

I would observe, however, that the extent of this particular rubric is not so wide as Sharp and Burn imagine; that it is intended to apply to those portions only of the public offices which are expressly named in it, and that the rule for other portions is to be sought elsewhere. Burn himself points out that a surplice is not here prescribed for the holy communion; the reason of which is, as he rightly states, that for that office a special dress is ordered in another part of the book; and thus we are prompted to the remark, which does not appear to have occurred to Dr. Burn—that for the vestures to be used at marrying and churching, and for that which is to be worn under the hood in preaching, the rules of the communion-service are to be consulted. For in the Book of 1549, the holy communion is made (not, as now, an optional, but) a necessary part of the marriage-rite; the same sacrament is connected with "the purification of women;" and there is no mention of any preaching, except that which is introduced in the communion-office.

[34] Keeling, 356. [35] p. 53. [36] pp. 206-7. [37] iii. 438.

On looking, then, to the rubrics of the communion, we find, as we have seen in a former section, that the celebrant is to wear a white albe, with a vestment or cope; that the assistant ministers are to wear albes, with tunicles; but there is no special order as to the dress which is to be worn in preaching. In these circumstances, I believe it to have been the intention of the compilers that the previous practice of the Church should be a guide.

As to this, we learn, that sometimes the celebrant preached from the altar, in which case he retained the chasuble (the *vestment* of King Edward's rubric); if he ascended the pulpit, the chasuble was laid aside for the time; if another than the celebrant preached, the dress was a surplice with a stole.[38] Applying these rules to the English service, we may gather that under the first Book of Edward the dress of the preacher was an *albe*,—a close-sleeved vesture, resembling the surplice.[39] And it is worth observing—since arguments are now sometimes built on the assumption that any such practice must be unprecedented and absurd—that when the celebrant was also the preacher, a change of dress took place on ascending and leaving the pulpit.

The book of 1552 did away with copes, vestments, and albes; and, in prescribing a surplice as the habit to be worn at the communion, may be supposed to have intended that it should be worn in preaching.

1559. Guest writes to Cecil while the revisal of the Prayer-Book is in progress:—"Because it is thought sufficient to use but a surplice in baptizing, reading, preaching, and praying, therefore it is enough also for the communion."[40]

[38] Gavanti, i. 209; iii. 105.

[39] The alternative of 'a surplice' appears to be excluded by the fact that the albe is the under-vesture prescribed for *all* the clergy at communion. [That the two were regarded as distinct dresses, see Harrison, p. 9.]

[40] Cardw. Conf. 50.

This was brought forward as an argument against the use of copes;[41] and the character of the passage leads me to choose this place for observing, that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term *communion* was not applied to that part of the service which is read when there is no celebration of the sacrament. This is spoken of as "prayers used at the holy table," and later, as "the second service;" here, it seems to be included in the "reading, preaching, and praying." In short, it was regarded as quite different in character from the communion-service, properly so called; as akin rather to the morning and evening prayers. The reader will find it useful to keep this distinction in mind.[42]

1561. The Bishops' Interpretations prescribe "the surplice in all other ministrations" (except the holy communion).[43]

1562. Requests to Convocation by Nowell and others.[44] "That the use of vestments, copes, and surplices, may be taken away, so that all ministers in their ministry use a grave, comely, and side [*i.e.* long] garment, as commonly they do in preaching." Bishop Blomfield supposes that this is to be understood of occasions "when sermons were preached without the reading of the Common-Prayer."[45] Although it would seem that sermons were usually delivered under such circumstances by the "licensed preachers," and consequently were far more common in that age than now, I am still inclined to think, as before seeing his Lordship's Charge, that ordinary preaching may also be meant.[46] Another request in the same paper is— "That the ministers be not compelled to wear such gowns

[41] [Therefore, argues Archdeacon Harrison, it does not imply that surplices were always, or even most commonly, used in preaching, although such was the case in the choir of cathedrals, &c., 58-9.]

[42] It is countenanced by canons xxiv.-xxv., of 1604, which allow surplices as "sufficient" in cathedrals when there is no celebration, although for celebration they require the use of copes.

[43] Doc. Ann. i. 205.

[44] Strype, Ann. i. 336.

[45] p. 74.

[46] See Harrison, 64-5.

and caps as the enemies of Christ's gospel have chosen to be the special array of their priesthood." Hence the preaching-garment approved by the puritans would seem not to have been the same with the ordinary canonical dress.[47]

1564. London ministers are "prayed [by their bishop, Grindal] to take on them the gown, (which one of them describes to be a Turkey[48] gown with a falling cape), and to wear in the ministry of the Church a surplice only."[49]

1565. The advertisements enjoin—"That the dean and prebendaries wear a surplice with a silk hood in the choir; and when they preach in the cathedral or collegiate church, to wear their hood."[50] This ought to be compared with the rubric of 1549. It would appear to be intended that the sermons should not be in the choir of cathedrals, but, as is usual abroad, in the nave;[51] and there is ground here

[47] The puritans Sampson and Humphrey complain that the clergy were required to wear when out of church "togas longas, a papistis mutuo sumptas." (Zurich Letters, No. 71, vol. i. 97; see Harrison, 95.) There were various degrees of puritan scrupulousness. "Of those that do wear this apparel, and be otherwise well-minded to the Gospel, are there not which will wear the surplice and not the cap; other that will wear both cap and surplice, but not the tippet; and yet a third sort, that will wear surplice, cap, and tippet, but not the cope?" Cartwright, ap. Whitgift, ii. 61.

[48] This name, however, is more commonly used to describe an *un*canonical habit. Thus, Harding "twits" the Reformed Church—"Do not some wear side gowns, having large sleeves, which is not well liked of your sect? Some of most perfection (*i.e.* puritans), *Turkey-gowns*, gaberdines, frocks, or nightgowns of the most lay fashion, for avoiding of superstition?" (Ap. Jewel, Def. Apol. 323.) And the description of the dress in which the puritan delegates appeared at the Hampton Court Conference – "Gowns of the shape of those worn by Turkey merchants,"—is interpreted by Collier as shewing that they "had nothing of the canonical habit." (ii. 271.)

[49] Strype, Grindal, 97. [50] Doc. Ann. 291.

[51] This is confirmed by Archbishop Bancroft's order for Canterbury Cathedral, 1608 (Wilkins, Conc. iv. 436)—"That upon solemn feastdays the sermon be made before the Communion: the moveable pulpit being placed either in the presbytery or choir; and every afternoon of such days there be a sermon for the city *in the ordinary place*." The ordinary place at Canterbury, however, was not the nave but the chapter-house. Doc. Ann. i. 347; Jebb, 494. See Laud's orders for Gloucester, 1635, and for Worcester, 1636, Works, v. 480, 491.

for supposing that the surplice was *not* worn by dignitaries when preaching. The canon of 1604[52] cannot, I think, be fairly alleged in favour of an opposite opinion. Nothing is here said of dress to be worn out of the choir, except that a hood shall be worn, which might be with a gown as well as with a surplice; and the two orders further differ, inasmuch as this prescribes the dress of the preacher only, while the canon gives direction for other members of the foundation likewise. The canon, therefore, is a fresh enactment, not an interpretation of the advertisement. It is observable, also, that there is no mention of preaching in the next advertisement;—"That every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice."

1566. Coverdale and others write to Farel, "Hæc autem acta sunt ut . . . foris pileum quadrum, collipendium, toga longa et lanea, gestentur; in ministerio autem sacro vestis alba et capa retineantur."[53]

In the same year J. Abel reports to Bullinger, that some ministers had been deposed on account of objections to the vestures, "which is much to be regretted, especially as they need not put on a surplice when preaching, as indeed nobody is commanded to do except in the administration of infant baptism and of the Lord's Supper."[54]

1570. A puritan writes that the Bishops "do make such a diversity between Christ's word and His sacraments, that they can[55] think the word of God to be safely enough preached and honourably enough handled, without cap, cope, or surplice, but that the sacraments, the marrying, the burying, the churching of women, and other church-service (as they call it), must needs be declared with crossing, with coping, surplicing, &c."[56] Here we may remark

[52] See p. 97.

[53] Zurich Letters, ii. 71.

[54] Ib., Engl. p. 118. (The German original of this letter is not given.)

[55] The reading in Strype is "cannot," but the sense evidently requires the alteration.

[56] Strype, Annals, ii. 6.

that, in the usage of that time, preaching seems to have been distinguished from "church-service," and further, that the passage is adverse to the opinion which has been quoted from Burn as to the dress at marrying and churching.

1570. Sandys, then bishop of London, in his Injunctions, orders the clergy "In all Divine service to wear the surplice."[57]

1571. Canon as to preachers licensed to itinerate.[58] "Inter concionandum utentur veste quam maxime modesta et gravi, quae deceat atque ornet ministrum Dei, qualisque in libello admonitionum descripta est."[59] In the advertisements of 1565, which are here referred to,[60] the only passage that can be meant is that which orders for ministers that "in their common apparel abroad" their gowns be "syde, with sleeves strait at the hand, without any cuts in the same; and that also without any falling cape."[61]

1571. Grindal enjoins—"That every minister saying any public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice."[62] About the same time, he writes to Zanchius, that the surplice is used "in publicis precibus, omnique administratione sacra."[63]

1573. Cartwright says—"What if the Lord give His blessing unto His word, and to the good gifts which he hath

[57] Strype, Annals, ii. 29.

[58] The institution of such preachers was older than Elizabeth's reign; see, *e.g.*, in Rymer, xiv. 736, the license granted by Henry VIII. in 1541, to Simon Clarkson. It was intended that they should be men of learning and ability, of doctrinal and political soundness, and should be devoted to one part of the ministerial function in consequence of the general unfitness and ignorance of the parochial clergy. But they very soon became in many cases mischievous, by setting the people against their ordinary teachers; and out of this class, apparently, were developed the factious lecturers of a later time, who made preaching their whole work out of a contempt for sacraments and liturgical forms. See Haweis, Sketches of the Reformation, c. 5; Jewel, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 1265.

[59] Synod. 127. [60] Ib. 126. [61] Doc. Ann. i. 294.

[62] Remains, 155. [63] Ib. 335.

that preacheth and weareth a surplice? . . . A man may rather reason that forasmuch as they which preach with surplice, &c., edify . . . than if they preached without wearing any such things, they should edify much more."[64]

1584. Archbishop Whitgift, in articles *ex officio*, requires an answer to the following:—"That you have at the time of communion, or at all or some other times in your ministration, used and worn only your ordinary apparel, and not the surplice as is required."[65]

1597. Hooker represents puritans as saying — "We judge it unfit as oft as ever we pray or preach so arrayed."[66] This seems to intimate that the same dress was used in preaching as in prayer; but, like other passages in documents and writings of the age, it need not mean more than that the use of the surplice in preaching was binding on one class of the clergy,—those belonging to the cathedral bodies.[67]

1598. A passage in Shakespeare's "All's well that ends well," has been quoted on this subject. "Though honesty be no puritan," says the Clown, "yet it will do no hurt; it will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big heart."[68] Hence it has been inferred by Mr. Scobell[69] and others, that the orderly clergy of the time wore at prayers a surplice over a gown (the latter being their ordinary dress), and laid aside the surplice when about to preach. But in truth the words rather describe one

[64] Ap. Whitgift, ii. 59. [65] Strype, Whitg. App. p. 50.
[66] v. 29. 7. [67] See Harrison, 143. [68] Act i. sc. 3.
[69] Mr. Scobell endeavours in his 'Thoughts on Church Subjects' (Lond. 1843), to prove that the use of the surplice in preaching is absolutely unlawful. That portion of his arguments which rests on the notion that the minister in preaching speaks only as an individual, not as expressing the mind of the Church, is forcibly answered by the Rev. C. I. Heathcote's statement of the tests enforced by the Church for the purpose of securing orthodoxy in her teachers ('The Prayer for the Church Militant,' &c., Lond. 1843, Appendix E. pp. 25-28); and Dr. Jebb, probably without reference to Mr. Scobell, has disposed of his whole *rationale* in a few words (Choral Service, 220).

shewing an insincere outward conformity—as the fanatical preacher in Hogarth's 'Medley' wears the gown over a harlequin's dress, and the protestant wig over the tonsure of a Romanist. I believe, however, that the practice was then most commonly as Mr. Scobell supposes, although he seems to be mistaken in thinking that it was either universal or strictly authorized.

1604. Canon LVIII. orders ministers to wear surplices in "saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the Church," but says nothing about preaching in this dress; whence Sharp thinks that the canon does not sanction it. At least no check is here given to what we know to have been the usual practice of the time—the use of the gown in preaching. Canon LXXIV. prescribes for ordinary dress, "gowns with standing collars, and sleeves strait at the hands, or wide sleeves, as is used in the universities." Canon XXV. orders that members of cathedral and collegiate churches "being graduates, shall daily, at the times both of prayer and preaching, wear with their surplices such hoods as are agreeable to their degrees." This appears to be the rule by which the present practice of such churches is governed.[70]

Bancroft's inquiries of the following year are exactly according to the canons.

1629. Laud, as bishop of London, presents to Charles I. a paper of "Considerations for the better settling of the Church-government." One of the proposed measures is that every lecturer be bound to "read Divine service in his surplice before the lecture."[71] The King adopted the suggestions, and issued injunctions accordingly, first to Archbishop Abbot (1629) and later, to Laud himself, after his elevation to the primacy (1633).[72]

It would appear that one object of the order just quoted was, to secure conformity in the use of the surplice and

[70] Cf. Gavant. iii. 106. [71] Rushw. ii. 7.
[72] Ib. 30: Doc. Ann. ii. 178.

hood from ministers who might have been unwilling to wear these vestments; and that this would not have been attained if the ministers were allowed to preach without officiating in prayers also; consequently that the surplice was not used in preaching.[73] And further light is thrown on the matter by another part of the same paper, in its later forms, where it is ordered that clergymen combining for a lecture in a market-town, "shall preach in gowns [in such seemly habits as belong to their degrees, 1633] and not in cloaks as too many do use." Accordingly, Laud inquires at his metropolitical articles for Winchester (1635) whether there be any lecturer "who hath preached in his cloke, and not in his gown."[74]

1636. It is ordered in the Oxford Statutes, which about this time underwent a revision by the Archbishop:—"Concionatores habitu gradui suo competente induti ad ecclesiam accedant, et eodem induti conciones suas habeant."

1638. Bishop Montagu inquires, "Doth your minister officiate Divine service in the habit and apparel of his order, with a surplice, an hood, a gown, and a tippet? not in a cloak, a sleeveless jacket, or horseman's coat? for such have I known."[75] He asks as to the lecturer—"Doth he often, and at times appointed, read Divine service and administer the communion in his surplice and hood of his degree?" The habit to be worn at lecture is not mentioned.

Heylyn tells us that combination-lecturers in towns were required "*in some places* to read the second service at the communion-table, and after the sermon to go back to the table, and there read the service; all which, being to be done in their hoods and surplices, kept off the greatest part of the rigid Calvinists."[76]

[73] This opinion is confirmed by Laud's articles of 1628 (Works, v. 401), by Cosin's archidiaconal inquiries of 1627 (Works, ii. 9, 14), and by the articles for the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, 1636, &c.

[74] Works, v. 424. [75] p. 67. [76] Life of Laud, 243.

Bishop Wren owns having ordered the surplice for preaching; because the rest of the service, both before and after, was read in it: because it is the use of cathedrals, and, as appears from Hooker, was in Queen Elizabeth's time used in parish-churches; and because the rubric orders the ornaments of 1549 "at all times of ministration," among which he holds that preaching is included.[77]

1662. Cosin, while in exile at Paris, writes,—"We are so far from leaving off the surplice at service, that we never preach any sermon without it."[78] But this was in a royal chapel, and the words imply that it was a more than ordinary use of the surplice. After the Restoration, we find Wren renewing his inquiry—"Doth [your minister] preach in his cassock and gown (not in a cloak), with his surplice, and hood also if he be a graduate?"[79] Cosin in the same year requires the surplice to be worn with the habit by the minister "at the reading or celebrating any Divine office;" he asks whether the lecturer read service, and that in a surplice, and whether in lecturing he "use the ecclesiastical habit appointed for all ministers of the Church?" Pory, archdeacon of Middlesex, does not specify preaching in his inquiries respecting dress; but Gunning, bishop of Ely, 1679, is equally stringent with his predecessor, Wren.

Of the passages illustrative of this period which are to be found in Pepys' Diary, it will be sufficient to quote the

[77] Parentalia, 92; cf. Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 559. Bridgman, bishop of Chester, and (in one case, at least) Towers, of Peterborough, are also said to have enforced the surplice (Prynne in Hier. Angl. 135, 386). Wren's interpretation of the word "ministration" will certainly not hold good for all the documents of Queen Elizabeth's reign in which such words occur. One instance to the contrary has already been noticed, p. 95; and in an extract, p. 92, *preaching* is spoken of as distinct from *ministry*. In the canons of 1571 we find—"dum peragitur pars aliqua sacri ministerii, *aut* habetur sacra concio." (Synod. 125.) So the 19th canon of 1604 speaks of "time of Divine service *or* preaching." I believe that the sermon will be oftener found distinguished from "ministration" or "Divine service" than included under these terms. [See Harrison, 62-3, 69, 144-5.]

[78] Works, iv. 387.

[79] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 559.

following—"Oct. 26, 1662, To church, and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a surplice; but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his ears in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpit, to preach without it."[80]

It is now time to attempt some conclusions from the history which we have been surveying.

It appears that the rule of King Edward's second year, to which the rubric refers us, is to be construed as appointing an albe for the preacher's dress, when a sermon is introduced into the communion-office. The albe, we know, has not been generally used in the Reformed Church since 1552; still, we are bound to observe that it, and not the surplice, is the most legitimate preaching-dress; that the surplice must derive its warrant, not from our rubric, strictly interpreted, but from some other and less perfect authority.

It is only in the communion-office, or in that part of it which is to be read when there is no celebration, that our Prayer-Book prescribes the use of sermons. The licensed preachers of Elizabeth's reign, and the lecturers of a later date, were allowed, however, to preach at other times; and for their discourses, the gown was the appointed dress.

The "second service," as has been said before, was regarded as altogether distinct in character from the complete communion-office; hence it is not unlikely that the rule for the dress to be worn at lectures may have extended to the sermons in this service; indeed, even when the communion was to be celebrated, it is probable that the surplice may have been laid aside during the sermon; for a similar practice had prevailed before the chasuble and the albe had given way respectively to the surplice and the gown.[81]

[80] This proves that the surplice was then close in front, instead of being secured by a button at the neck.

[81] See above, p. 91. So in the 'Cærimoniale Episcoporum,' l. i. c. 22; i. c. 8. There are orders that canons, members of monastic orders, &c., in preaching before a bishop at mass, shall wear the habits of their order

There is in the documents of Elizabeth's reign a remarkable absence of especial direction for the dress to be worn by ordinary ministers in their preaching; there is, also, much doubt whether the language of that time usually included preaching in "Divine service" or "ministration." With respect to both these points, my own opinion is favourable to the pretensions of the gown; but where so much is obscure and conjectural, it would be unbecoming to speak with confidence.

That the authorities in the days both of Elizabeth and of Charles I. saw no absolute unfitness in the gown for preaching, is evident from the canon of 1571, from the recognition of the lecturer's dress, and from other passages which have been given. In short, the enforcement of surplices (where they *were* enforced) seems to have been a measure of caution against popular puritan orators, who could otherwise have ascended the pulpit without ever officiating in any part of the service for which the surplice was usually required. It is not clear that any bishop of Charles the First's time, except Wren, prescribed this preaching-dress as a general rule; and the line of defence adopted by Wren, when his order was charged on him as a novelty, is very remarkable. He fetches his precedents, not from the primacy of Bancroft, who is generally described as a more vigorous and rigid exacter of conformity than any of the preceding archbishops, but from the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and he refers to books as his sole evidence with respect to the practice of her days; although only thirty-three years had passed since the queen's death, he himself having been eighteen years old at the date of that event, and twelve at the publication (1597) of

(cf. Gavanti, i. 209, col. 2; Pepys, Diary, March 17, 1677). In Russia, "the priests always appear in public in gowns cut like our preaching-gowns, or rather like those of the scholars at Oxford; and when they preach, they lay aside their sacerdotal robes, and deliver their discourse in their ordinary dress." Dansey, ii. 333.

Hooker's Fifth Book, which he quotes as if it were a document relating to things far beyond the memory of living man. The like is done by Heylyn, in his Life of Laud.[82]

It appears, then, that the surplice was not worn in preaching during the reign of James I.; it is not ordered by the canons of 1604; and although Hooker be admitted as a witness that it was so worn in the last years of the sixteenth century, Bishop Wren's silence as to the experience of his own boyhood in the matter, which is one that could not fail to be noticed by a boy, may be considered as sufficient proof that the custom was then by no means universal. If (which I am not prepared either to affirm or to deny) it was general in the earlier years of Elizabeth, we have reason to believe that towards the end of her reign it was for the most part disused.

Under Charles II. we find that Gunning, and perhaps Cosin, join with Wren in exacting the use of surplices in preaching. Sharp tells us that the constant use of the surplice in the pulpit within the diocese of Durham a century ago "is said to have taken rise from an opinion of Bishop Cosin, that, as surplices were to be worn at all times of the ministration, and preaching was properly the ministration of the word of God, therefore surplices were to be worn in the pulpit, as well as in the desk," &c.; yet Cosin's inquiries are not altogether distinct, and appear to acknowledge the gown as the proper dress for lectures.[83]

[82] p. 6.

[83] See Sharp, 206; [Harrison, 174-5]. The divines of Charles the First's reign appear to have had exceedingly little traditional information respecting the preceding century; the writings of the Reformers, with hardly the exception of Jewel, were forgotten; the line of historical and antiquarian investigation, in which so much has since been effected, was as yet unopened. The earliest histories of the Reformation (after Fox) by Fuller and Heylyn —the earliest regular commentaries on the Prayer-Book, by Sparrow and L'Estrange—were not published until the time of the Usurpation. It seems almost necessary to direct the reader's attention to these circumstances, by way of excuse for the apparent presumption of venturing to differ on points of this nature from such authorities as Cosin, Wren, and Laud.

We find, further, that the fancy of the puritans ran, not on gowns, but on cloaks and other unauthorized and unacademical garments.[84] Far from being a Genevan fashion, the gown was abhorred by the Genevating party, little, if at all, less than the surplice itself.

On the whole, it appears to me that the matter is in itself indifferent; that in the earlier history there is a degree of obscurity which may well warrant differences of opinion; and that the gown, as well as the surplice, may plead high and practically sufficient sanction from the seventeenth century.

The garment described in the advertisements of 1565 is identified by Dr. Jebb (p. 223), with that which is now styled a preacher's gown, "modern custom having however tucked up the full sleeve to the elbow, the narrow wristband no longer appearing." I cannot agree with Dr. Jebb in thinking that a graduate ought to wear this gown rather than that of his degree. If "the whole tendency of our times has been, especially at the universities, to mark the academical rank rather than the order in the church,"—may not the like be said of the rubrics, canons, and other orders of earlier times?[85]

(*e.*) *The Hood.*

This, as worn among us, is an academical distinction. The rubric of 1549 respecting it has been quoted above.[86] The LVIIIth canon of 1604 is more stringent, and orders that appropriate hoods be worn by all graduates; while non-graduates are allowed to "wear upon their surplices, instead of hoods, some decent *tippet* of black, so it be not silk." When the learned Sir William Palmer says in his

[84] Thus the authors of the 'Admonition to Parliament' say, "In [former] days [ministers were] known by voice, learning, and doctrine; now they must be discerned from other men by popish and antichristian apparel, as cap, *gown*, tippet," &c. (Ap. Whitgift, ii. 9.)

[85] [See Archdeacon Harrison, 27, who argues (p. 30) that the "preacher's gown" is the older form of the academic gown.]

[86] p. 90.

"Origines Liturgicae"[87] that all our clergy are permitted to wear the hood," it would seem that he includes the tippet under this name.

The hood ought properly to be worn with the preaching-garment, whatever this be; and I may notice that it appears to have been formerly reckoned among things which are to be provided at the cost of the parish.[88]

(*f.*) *The Tippet.*

Sir William Palmer does not notice either this name, or *liripipium*, which is the equivalent in the Latin LVIIIth canon.[89] The following collection of passages, however, will probably be found sufficient to show what is meant.

24 Hen. VIII. A.D. 1532. An act orders that stuff made beyond the king's dominions shall not be worn by the clergy, with some exceptions:—"It shall be lawful to all Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Masters, and Wardens of the cathedral and collegiate churches, Prebendaries, Doctors or Bachelors in Divinity, Doctors of the one Law and of the other, and also Doctors of other Sciences, to wear black velvet, or black sarcenet, or black satin, in their tippets and riding-hoods or girdles. And that none of the clergy under the degrees aforesaid, other than Masters of Art, and

[87] Appendix x.

[88] Thus Bennett says that hoods are "worn as the honourable badges of degrees taken in the universities; and which, through the negligence of churchwardens, the parish-ministers seldom have it in their power to wear" (Hist. of Common Prayer, ed. 2, p. 7):

> "A noble pillar of the church he stood,
> Adorn'd with college gown and parish hood."
> *Crabbe's 'Parish Register,' Works*, ii. 229, ed. 1834.

In an old account-book of the parish of Crundale, Kent, is an entry, of date 1639,—"Paid our minister towards an hood, 10s."

[89] Johnson defines *tippet* as being "something worn about the neck;" and this definition is probably as precise as it ought to be—the word meaning various articles, which differ much in form, from a cape to a stole. Ducange explains *liripipium* by "epomis, longa fascia, vel cauda caputii;" and in his Greek Dictionary he defines *epomis* as "stola quæ humeris presbyteri imponitur."

Bachelors of the one Law or the other, or such other of the said clergy as may dispend yearly £20 over all charges, shall wear in their tippets any manner of sarcenet or other silk."[90]

1557 (under Mary). We read among articles established or proposed in convocation[91]—"Nec in epitogiis [these seem to be the *tippets* of the act just quoted] quisquam praesumat uti velveto aut sarcineto, nisi fuerit ad minus artium magister vel in legibus baccalaureus, vel beneficium assecutus ecclesiasticum."

1564. Bishop Grindal desires the London clergy to wear the tippet.[92] He uses these words some years later, in describing to Zanchius the usual dress,—"Collo circumducta stola quaedam, ab utroque humero pendula, et ad talos fere demissa,"[93] where *stola* is rendered by Strype,[94] "*a tippet.*"

1565. In the advertisements,[95] Dignitaries, Doctors, &c. are ordered "in their common apparel abroad to wear tippets of sarcenet, as is lawful for them by the act of parliament, anno xxiv. Henry VIII." The lawfulness, we may observe, relates here to the material. It was lawful for clergymen of less mark to wear tippets of inferior stuff.

1565. We are told that some preachers "would take the confidence, and that even before the Queen, to preach without their habits; and it was taken great notice of, that some had preached before her Majesty without tippet." Of orders given to the London clergy, "the fourth article related to the sarcenet tippet, that such should wear it as might by the act of parliament 24 Hen. VIII. and no other."[96]

1566. Coverdale and others complain of orders, "ut foris pileum quadrum, collipendium, &c., gestentur."[97]

[90] Gibson, Codex, p. 190. This Act was repealed under James I.
[91] Synod. 452-476. [92] Strype, Grind. p. 97.
[93] Remains, 335. [94] p. 107. [95] Doc. Ann. i. 294-5.
[96] Strype, Parker, 213.
[97] Zur. Lett. ii. No. 50. "Collipendium" is here clearly the tippet, although the editor in this and in another letter (53) renders it by "bands."

[The

1566. Scotch ministers remonstrate with the English bishops in behalf of those who refused the habits, "If surplice, corner-cap, and tippet have been badges of idolatries, in the very act of idolatry, &c." [98] I quote this from among a multitude of puritan complaints, because it professes to give a reason.

1573. Robert Johnson, a puritan, writes to Sandys, bishop of London, asking "why the tippet is commanded, and the stole forbidden; why the vestment is put away and the cope retained," &c.[99]

The puritans of Hooker's time complain that the clergy are forced to wear "cappam et superpelliceum in sacris, in communi vita liripipium," &c.[100]

1573. Cartwright declares the cap, the surplice, and the tippet to be "unmeet for a minister of the Gospel to wear, and the surplice especially, more than the other two, because such hurtful ceremonies are so much more dangerous as they do approach nearer the worship or service of God." [101]

1604. Canon LVIII. orders that no minister who is not a graduate shall wear a hood under pain of suspension. "Notwithstanding it shall be lawful for such ministers as are not graduates to wear upon their surplices, instead of hoods, some decent tippet of black, so it be not of silk." By canon LXXIV., Dignitaries, Doctors, Bachelors in Divinity and Law, and Masters of Arts, having any ecclesiastical living, are ordered to wear abroad "hoods or tippets of silk or sarcenet," while other ministers are to wear the same dress with these, "except tippets only."

1638. Bishop Montagu asks, "Doth your minister

The band was indeed unknown then and long after, having succeeded the ruff which appears in the portraits of Hooker, Andrewes, and Laud; nor was it ever required by any authority. See Burn, iii. 356.

[98] Strype, Parker, App. p. 84.

[99] Perry's 'Lawful Church Ornaments,' 287.

[100] Eccl. Disc. fol. 97-101, quoted by Keble on Hooker, v. 78, 13.

[101] Ap. Whitgift, ii. 1.

officiate in the habit of his order, with a surplice, an hood, a gown, and a tippet?"[1]

Cosin, in describing the English ritual, says, "Sacramentum baptismi a ministro, superpelliceo et *stola* induto celebratur."[2] From his inquiry of 1662, "Have you in your vestry a hood or tippet for the minister to wear over his surplice, if he be a graduate?"[3] it would seem that he may have intended to include these articles under the name of *stola*.

The tippet was an ordinary article of clerical dress, worn abroad with the gown; and in Elizabeth's reign, as appears from Cartwright and Hooker, it was not introduced into the service of the Church. The garment with which the court-preachers of that time were expected to wear it was most likely the gown; and the earliest sanction of a tippet as an accompaniment of the surplice was the canon of 1604. That canon, however, gives only a permission (not a command) for the use of a certain kind of tippet by the non-graduate clergy; and hence, while the hood of graduates is a subject of inquiry in articles of visitation, the stuff tippet of non-graduates is not mentioned, except for the purpose of pointing out that they must not presume to wear anything of higher pretensions.[4]

The Puritans objected to wear the tippet in their ordinary dress, because it had been used before the Reformation "in the very act of idolatry," *i.e.* in the service of the mass. We must, therefore, look for it among the vestments of the earlier time; and from Archbishop Grindal's description we gather that it was a sort of stole.[5] But Grindal's words "stola quædam" seem to imply rather a general resemblance to the stole of earlier days than a complete identity with it; and this idea is confirmed by the fact that he himself

[1] p. 67. [2] Works, iv. 360. [3] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 601.

[4] See, *e.g.*, Bp. Gunning in Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 649.

[5] For stole, or *orarium*, see Palmer, Append. vi. Bingham describes it as "a scarf *or* tippet to be worn upon the shoulders." xiii. 8, 2.

ordered the destruction of stoles among "monuments of superstition and idolatry."[6] We may perhaps conclude that the Elizabethan tippet differed from the old ecclesiastical stole, not only in being restricted to black, whereas the stoles varied in colour, but also somewhat in shape. In short, it would seem to have been what is now called a scarf; but it is very possible that the kind of scarf which was regarded as the special mark of chaplains may have been different in its origin from that which is now in question, although it has in course of time come to be confounded with it.[7]

VI.

The Hours of Service — Division of the Services.

(*a.*)

It is ordered by the xivth canon, that "the Common Prayer shall be said or sung at convenient and usual times."

[6] Remains, 136, 159.

[7] See a learned paper in the 'British Magazine,' vii. 376. [In the 'Directorium Anglicanum,' p. 359, it is said that the scarf of chaplains "is made of silk of the colour of the nobleman's livery to whom the cleric is chaplain." As the editor of the Directorium describes himself as chaplain to a nobleman, this is probably not to be interpreted as satire; but I do not know on what ground it is said.] The writer in the British Magazine states that the name of tippet is still given at Oxford to a small round article, *not of silk*, which is on particular days buttoned on behind the left shoulder of University preachers; and this he supposes to be a degenerate form of the round cape worn by Romish ecclesiastics, with which, accordingly, he would identify the *tippet* of our canons, &c. The passages above given, however, appear to me quite conclusive for a different view. I have read (in Prof. Jenkyns' edition of Cranmer, as I think) of a priest who "hanged himself in his tippet," whence we may infer that in form it was not like a cape; and with this story we may connect the fact that a halter was styled "a Tyburn tippet," and in Scotland "a St. Johnstoun's tippet." Dr. Jebb tells us (p. 215) that the scarf is to this day designated in Ireland by the name of *tippet*. At the same time, as I have already said, this name would seem to include articles of various shapes; and so the canon of 1604, in sanctioning "*some* decent tippet" for non-graduates, would seem to allow of a latitude as to its form.

In like manner the 'Reformatio Legum' directs that morning prayer shall be "antemeridiano quopiam tempore convenienti." And Bishop Hooper enjoined in 1551 "That the curate or minister, with the advice or consent of the whole parish, shall agree upon one certain hour . . . for . . . morning prayers upon the Sundays and other holydays, as also the evening prayers; and so the most convenient hour agreed upon to be observed and kept, that all the parish may come thereunto."[1]

According to Bishop Sparrow the usual hour for the communion-service "was anciently, and so should be, nine of the clock, morning; this is the canonical hour."[2] The practice of his own time, however, was different. L'Estrange tells us that nine was the hour at which morning-prayer usually began;[3] and this is confirmed by some passages in episcopal papers of that day, which are quoted by Prynne.[4] Donne gives us to understand that the sermon on Sundays was over at eleven."[5]

Cosin complains that in his time the hours were later than in the age of the Reformation;[6] and from the words of the third morning collect as to the "beginning of this day," he infers that "morning prayer should regularly be said at the first hour of the day, which is six aclock."[7] In his suggestions for the correction of the Prayer-Book, he says that because there is no order as to time, the services in most places begin "when the morning is past, and when the evening is not yet come." He therefore expresses a wish that something may be prescribed.[8] As this wish was doubtless

[1] Later Writings, i. 36.
[2] Rationale, 195.
[3] p. 72.
[4] Cant. Doom. 375-9.
[5] Works, ed. Alford, iii. 383.
[6] Works, v. 451.
[7] Nicholls, Addl. Notes, 23. [This note seems to be omitted in the Ang. Cath. Library edition of Cosin.]
[8] Ib. 506-7. In the Annoted Prayer-Book, p. 20*, Cosin is quoted (probably from his MS. at Durham) as having suggested the addition of the words "which may be any hour between six and ten of the clock in the morning, or between two and six of the clock in the evening."

known to his colleagues in the revision of 1662, we may conclude that they held it inexpedient to comply with it.

Cosin's opinion as to the proper hour of matins appears to rest on somewhat fanciful grounds.[9] That it had been earlier than in his day, however, appears from Bishop Parkhurst's orders for Norwich and other towns of his diocese in 1561, and from those of Bishop Scambler for Northampton, in 1571; in which it is directed that the service in the parish-churches be ended by nine, in order that the people may thence resort to sermon in the principal church.[10]

Archbishop Laud writes to the Dean of Christchurch, Oxford, "The morning-service is everywhere to end by twelve, at farthest; so the vespers never begin before three, and end by five. And this, I take it, is universal. And the reason of it, as I conceive, is, that the prayers of the Church, howsoever different in place, might be jointly put up to God in all places at the same time." [11]

Walton says of Herbert,[12] "For the time of his appearing [in church] it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four." It does not appear what canon is here referred to.

Bishop Beveridge says that there is no other limitation than that matins should be before, and vespers after, noon.[13]

The changes made in the distribution of the services at the Reformation may be considered to have destroyed the force of any earlier canons relating to this subject; and it is evident that the Church now recognises no other rule in the matter than convenience and custom.

[9] Of course the hour had in some places been early—*e.g.* at St. Antholin's, London, 1559, service was at *five* A.M. (Strype, Ann. i. 134.) Weekday service would probably be earlier than that of Sundays. At Abp. Warham's visitation of 1511, the vicar of St. Margaret's, Cliffe, was enjoined not to begin Divine service—viz. matins and mass—on Sundays and holy-days, before eight o'clock, and to have mass finished before eleven o'clock. Brit. Mag. xxx. 24.

[10] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 401; Strype, Ann. ii. 90.

[11] Works, v. 235-6.

[12] Eccl. Biog. iv. 38.

[13] Works, viii. 492-3, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.

(*b.*)

I have reserved for separate consideration the subject of Division of Services, although some things connected with it afford illustrations of that which has just been discussed.

By Edward the Sixth's Injunctions, 1547, it was ordered that the litany should be said "immediately before high mass;"[14] and in the Book of 1549 provision was made that the litany and the communion-office—(or that part of it which is used when there is no administration)—should be said together.[15] Elizabeth's Injunctions, 1559, in like manner connect the litany with the communion.[16]

The old rubric of the commination-service assumes an interval between morning-prayer and the litany—"After matins ended, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and assembled in the church, the English litany shall be said."[17]

Bishop Hooper, in 1551, while forbidding superfluous ringing of bells, orders that "in case there be any pause between the morning prayer and the communion," one bell shall be tolled.[18]

The 'Reformatio Legum' prescribes that the offices be united.

There was considerable discussion on the subject in the time of Charles I.; the puritan party generally objecting to a dissociation of the offices, which custom had long joined together. Thus, it is made a charge against Cosin, that whereas the morning service at Durham had previously been performed at five o'clock, an alteration was introduced through his influence, so that only the matins proper were said at the former hour, while a "second service" was reserved for ten o'clock.[19]

The question is debated between Williams and Heylyn,

[14] Doc. Ann. i. 14. [15] Keeling, 229. [16] Doc. Ann. i. 187.
[17] Keeling, 349. [18] Later Writings, 136.
[19] Cosin, i. xxv.; cf. Hier. Anglic. p. 38.

in the course of their controversy on the subject of altars. Williams[20] is against the division. Heylyn[21] writes—"This was the ancient practice of the Church of England. The morning prayer, or matins, to begin between six and seven; the second service, or communion service, not till nine or ten; which distribution still continues in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, in that of Southwell, and perhaps in some others."[22] He tells us that "in some churches, while the litany is saying, there is a bell tolled, to give notice unto the people that the communion service is now coming on."[23]

The first rubric of the communion office, as it then stood, was often referred to in such discussions—"So many," it was directed, "as intend to be partakers shall signify their names to the curate overnight, or else in the morning afore the beginning of morning-prayer or immediately after."[24] Hence it was argued by some that an interval immediately after the end of morning-prayer was contemplated; while others maintained the contrary, on the ground that Aless, in the time of Edward, had interpreted the last words "vel *immediate post principium*,"[25] and that the translator of Elizabeth's Prayer-Book had added "*matutinarum precum*."[26] But surely it is inconceivable that the framers can have contemplated such an interruption of the service; and that an interval was allowed in the early years of Elizabeth, appears from the order of prayer during the plague of 1563, where it is directed that "a pause shall be made of one quarter of an hour and more by the discretion of the curate" between matins and the litany.[27] Hacket produces this passage;[28] L'Estrange,[29] and Sparrow,[30] without being

[20] Holy Table, 174. [21] Antidotum, Part iii. 61.

[22] For other places in which the division is known to have been kept up, see Jebb, 226; Johnson's Vade-Mecum, i. 13; Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, i. b. vi. p. 5.

[23] p. 59. [24] Keeling, 165. [25] Bucer, Scripta, Anglic. 422.

[26] Elizab. Liturgies, ed. Park. Soc., 383. [27] Grindal, Remains, 84.

[28] Life of Williams, Part ii. 71-2. [29] 162. [30] 195.

aware of it, argue to the same effect on other grounds; as does also Cosin, who testifies that (at the date of his earliest series of notes) the Cathedrals of York and Chichester allowed an interval.[31] The time between the offices might, of course, be of various lengths; the commination-rubric appears to contemplate two distinct assemblings of the people.[32]

Grindal enjoined at York, in 1571, that the offices should be said "together, without any intermission, to the intent that the people may continue together in prayer and hearing the word of God, and not depart out of the church during all the time of the whole divine service."[33] The practice elsewhere may very possibly have been similar; but there is no reason for supposing that it was enforced, except in the north, where special regulations were required in order to subdue a lingering attachment to Roman usages and opinions. No corresponding order is to be found in the same Archbishop's articles for Canterbury, except that he forbids ringing between morning-prayer and the litany; whence we may probably infer that a *short* interval was generally allowed in that diocese.

We find, however, that a little later the morning-prayer, the litany, and the communion-office were usually joined in one service, and that the puritans complained of its length as exceeding the custom of "other reformed Churches."[34] But indeed this need hardly be supposed to intimate a change; if the interval between the matins and the liturgy did not exceed a few minutes, the whole service might be spoken of as really *one*.

As the practice of uniting the services began so early, and has not been censured or discountenanced by the later revisers of the Prayer-Book, we need not doubt that it is sufficiently sanctioned; while, on the other hand, it is evident that a distinctness was originally provided for, and

[31] Works, v. 83. [32] Cf. Cosin, v. 451. [33] Remains, 137.
[34] Hooker, v. 32-4.

still remains lawful. Whether the first compilers of our Liturgy contemplated the union, is not altogether clear; that they did so is not improbable, as they had before them the fact that the Latin offices were in practice consolidated; thus matins, lauds, and prime were commonly said together, and the service of the mass was in like manner united to tierce.[35] The Reformatio Legum is an early sanction of the union, although it never acquired the character of law.

It appears that the Litany and the Communion were always used as parts of the same service. We have already seen that the rubric of 1662, by which it is for the first time ordered that the Litany be said "*after* morning-prayer," was not intended to preclude a division of the later from the earlier office.[36]

Perhaps it may be worth while to observe, that an opinion as to the advantage or disadvantage of separating them is not to be considered as a mark of religious party. The puritans of Hooker's day took one side; those who persecuted Cosin, the other; and persons of very various theological sentiments are at the present time to be found among those who advocate the disjunction.[37]

I shall conclude this section by setting before the reader Bishop Wren's scheme of an ordinary Sunday morning service, with incidental offices introduced.

Morning-prayer, with Baptism after the second lesson.
Litany.
Prayers for the Sick. (See ch. xxiii. § *a*.)

[35] Gavanti, ii. 2-8; [Palmer, Suppl. to Origines Liturg. 10-12.] At the present time, "the night-offices (matins and lauds) are usually said in broad-day; of the day-offices, two, three, or more are said together without any interval, even in cathedral and conventual churches." (Schmid, ii. 6; comp. p. 28, ib.)

[36] p. 44.

[37] "As to the repetitions in our service," says Dr. Arnold, "they arise chiefly from Laud's folly in joining two services into one." (Life, &c., by Stanley, ii. 388, ed. 2.) There is just as much truth in this charge against Laud as in Sydney Smith's belief that he was the author of the Lambeth Articles. Edinb. Rev. xxxvii. 439.

Marriage, begun in the body of the church, and finished at the altar.

Churching, at the altar.

Beginning of the Communion-office.

Sermon, preceded by bidding of prayer.

Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church.

Warning of holy-days.

Exhortation to communion (differing somewhat from the second of those in the present Prayer-Book).

Collects and Blessing.[38]

VII.

Reverences.

It is needless at the present day to say anything as to the grosser improprieties, such as talking and wearing the hat in church, of which complaints are frequent from the days of the Reformation to those of Andrewes, Donne, and their contemporaries. The following notices relate to acts of reverence which are not, like the uncovering of the head and a decent silence, now universal.

1549. Rubric.—"As touching kneeling, crossing, holding up of hands, knocking upon the breast, and other gestures, they may be used or left as every man's devotion serveth, without blame."[1]

In consequence of the manner in which the Roman party still endeavoured to keep up their practices under the English Prayer-Book, "kneeling otherwise than is in the said book" was forbidden by the Injunctions of 1549-50;[2]

[38] See his injunctions in Doc. Ann. No. cxliii. On the subject of the present section see Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation, pp. 214-219; [Harrison, 251, *seqq.*].

[1] Keeling, 357. [2] Doc. Ann. i. 64. As to these Injunctions, see p. 70.

i.e., only such kneeling was allowed as the book had expressly prescribed.

1559. Elizabeth's LIInd injunction orders "that whensoever the name of Jesus shall be in any lesson, sermon, or otherwise in the church pronounced, due reverence be made of all persons young and old, with lowness of courtesy, and uncovering of heads of the menkind, as thereunto doth necessarily belong, and heretofore hath been accustomed."[3]

1561. The injunctions of Davies, Bishop of St. Asaph, are in accordance with the Queen's.[4]

1566. Beza complains of it as a grievance in the English Church that people are expected to stand up at the name of Jesus.[5] About the same time, Wither, a puritan, complains to the Elector Palatine of the orders given by the Queen's injunction as to reverence.[6]

1571. Grindal, as archbishop of York, forbids the people "superstitiously to make upon themselves the sign of the cross when they first enter into any church to pray."[7] From this and other injunctions, it appears that many Romish practices continued to keep their ground within his jurisdiction.

Hooker[8] says that "there is no man constrained to use" the "harmless ceremonies" of bowing at the name of Jesus, and the like.

Heylyn[9] tells us that the general prevalence of custom at the time of the Reformation made it needless for the Reformers to give any order about reverences;[10] that under Elizabeth the people "made their due reverence at their

[3] Doc. Ann. i. 199. [4] Wilkins, iv. 229. [5] Zurich Letters, ii. No. 53.
[6] Ib. No. 62. [7] Remains, 140. [8] E. P. v. 30, 3.
[9] Hist. Ref. 296, and Life of Laud, 16.

[10] This kind of argument appears to have been pushed to extravagance by some of Heylyn's contemporaries. Thus, Archbishop Williams (Holy Table, 163) mentions "a Latin determination, aiming to prove that, look, what ceremonies were used about the altar before the Reformation vi et virtute Catholicæ consuetudinis, by power and force of any general custom, though passed over in deep silence by our Liturgy, are notwithstanding commanded, as by a kind of implicit precept, even unto us that live under

first entrance into the church;" and that although this custom wore much out afterwards, vestiges remained in the ceremonies of the order of the Garter, and in some which were observed at Oxford. In his own youth, too, country-women used to make a reverence eastward before sitting down in churches, which had come to be misinterpreted as a courtesy to the minister.[11] The argument from custom in the age of the Reformation appears to me not altogether sound, inasmuch as the subject was not then allowed to pass unnoticed, but various orders were made with regard to it, both under Edward and under Elizabeth, by the Church, by the Crown, and by individual bishops.

1604. Canon XVIII. "When in time of Divine service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed." It would appear from a petition of puritans to James the First on his accession, that similar orders had already been given by some Bishops.[12] The words of Bishop Andrewes—that, "in reading the holy Gospel, and never else, is adoration made at the name of Jesus, for then only is it in its right exaltation, and then men stand in a posture ready to make reverence"[13]—seem inconsistent not only with this canon (which may have been of later date), but with the injunction of 1559.

Laud found at Canterbury "bowing used towards the altar by the appointment of the Dean and Chapter." He defended the practice on various occasions, saying that it

the discipline of the English Liturgy." [The same proposition has been very boldly advanced in our own time. It was strongly reprobated in the address issued by the Archbishops and Bishops in 1851 (Rit. Commission, Rep. i. 120), and has been judicially condemned by the Privy Council. (See above, p. 80, note.)] The reverences used in the Roman ritual are very various—as may be conjectured from a few words of Merati (in Gav. Thes. i. 155—"Hæc inclinatio infima, nempe solius capitis, subdividitur ab aliquibus in tres alias classes, quarum prima vocatur *minimarum maxima*, secunda, *minimarum media*, tertia, *minimarum minima*."

[11] [This is said to be still practised in Huntingdonshire. Notes and Queries, vi. 33.] [12] Cardw. Conf. 132. [13] Works, xi. 152.

"was used in the King's chapel and in many cathedrals, both in Queen Elizabeth and King James their reigns," and referring, among other authorities, to Bishop Morton.[14]

He orders for Winchester school, "That such reverence be used in the chapel both in access thereto and recess therefrom, and also in service-time, as is practised in cathedral churches, and is not dissonant to the canons and constitutions of the Church of England."[15]

Similar injunctions were also given for various cathedrals.[16] At Canterbury it was ordered by the new statutes that the clergy, on entering the choir, should bow towards the altar, "prout antiquis quarundam ecclesiarum statutis cautum novimus," and then to the dean; and that any one who should have occasion to move from one place to another in the choir should repeat these reverences "toties quoties."[17] But no such orders were made for parish churches.

Mr. Lenton, a visitor to Little Gidding, reports of Ferrar, that, "at entering the church he made a low obeisance; a few paces further, a lower; coming to the half-pace (which was at the east end, where the tables stood), he bowed to the ground, if not prostrated himself."[18] Mr. Lenton reports of his conversation with Ferrar afterwards—"I replied that I thought God was as present at Paul's Cross as at Paul's Church; and at the preaching place at Whitehall[19] and Spital sermons, as elsewhere. And yet in those places—(no not in the body of the church, though there be a sermon and prayer there)—we do not use this threefold reverence, nor any low bowing, unless in the chancel, towards the east, where an altar or some crucifix is. He answered me something of the trinary number, which I

[14] Collier, ii. 762-775; Hierurg. Ang. 162.

[15] Works, v. 496.

[16] Ib. 478; Hier. Anglic. 52.

[17] Works, v. 536.

[18] Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog. iv. 248.

[19] This was in the open air, having been so established when the crowds attracted by Latimer's sermons, early in the reign of Edward VI., were too great to be contained in the chapel. Heylyn, Hist. Ref. 57.

did not understand, nor well hear. The cathedrals make but one reverence, whereas they [Ferrar's household] make three."[20]

1638. Bishop Montagu asks, "whether the parishioners bow towards the chancel and communion-table?"—"Do they stand also at the reading of the gospel, and bend or bow at the glorious, sacred, and sweet Name of Jesus, pronounced out of the gospel read?"[21] This inquiry accords rather with Bishop Andrewes's note than with the canons.

Bishop Wren, in answer to his impeachment, states that he began to use reverences after the example of Andrewes, whom he supposes to have had the tradition from the Elizabethan Reformers,[22] and in whose notes on the Common Prayer we find many obeisances prescribed for the Communion-service.

1640. Canon VII. recommends and explains the custom of "doing reverence and obeisance both at coming in and going out of churches, chancels, or chapels," but does not enforce it. After stating that it is commended "not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship to the communion-table, the east, or church, or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the holy Eucharist upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus Christ on the holy table, or in mystical elements, but only for the advancement of God's Majesty," the canon concludes as follows:—"We desire that the rule of charity prescribed by the Apostle may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite despise not them who use it not; and that they who use it not condemn not those that use it."[23] The moderation of this canon is said to have given offence to some extreme ceremonialists.[24]

1641. The Lords' committee notes as an innovation, "bowing towards [the holy table] or towards the east,

[20] Wordsworth, iv. 250. [21] p. 66. [22] Parentalia, 81.
[23] Synodalia, 406; comp. Hammond, 'View of the Directory,' Works, i. 387. [24] Fuller, Ch. Hist. xi. 172.

many times with three congees, but usually in every motion, access, or recess in the church."[25]

In the same year, on September 8, the Commons ordered "That all corporal bowing at the name *Jesus*, or towards the east end of the church, chapel, or chancel, or towards the communion-table, be forborne."[26]

1645. It is ordered in the puritan Directory for Public Worship—"Let all enter the assembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, without adoration or bowing themselves towards one place or another."[27]

1662. The canon of 1604 was, with some alterations, revived by the convocation, with the design of getting it confirmed by act of parliament.[28]

1686. The directions given by Hewetson, afterwards archdeacon of Armagh, to Wilson (afterwards bishop of Sodor and Man) at his ordination as deacon, are worth quoting —"In church to behave himself always very reverently; nor ever turn his back upon the altar in service-time, nor on the minister, when it can be avoided. To stand at the lessons and epistle, as well as at the gospel, and especially when a psalm is sung; to bow reverently at the name of Jesus, whenever it is mentioned in any of the Church's offices; to turn towards the east whenever the Gloria Patri and the creeds are rehearsing; and to make obeisance at coming into, or going out of, the church, and at going up to and coming down from the altar—are all ancient, commendable, and devout usages; and which thousands of good people of our Church practise at this day, and amongst them—(if he deserves to be reckoned amongst them)—T. W.'s dear friend."[29]

[25] Cardw. Conf. 272. [26] Rushw. Part iii. 386. [27] Clay on the C. P. 207.

[28] Synodalia, 672. [It has been said (as by Dr. Cardwell, Doc. Ann. ii. 253), that the parliamentary confirmation was given; and in Wilkins, iv. 576, is a document entitled an act for this purpose. But this seems to be "only the draft of a proposed act, not passed." Goode, 'Aids,' &c., 25.]

[29] Keble, Life of Wilson, i. 22. For other notices on this subject, see Pepys, Diary, Feb. 26, 166$\frac{3}{4}$; the author of 'Love and Truth' (supposed to

Bourne, in 1725, mentions bowing towards the altar on entering a church as common in the north; Brand, although himself a north countryman, writing about fifty years later, speaks of it as probably then confined to some colleges at Oxford.[30]

At Oxford Cathedral, reverence is still done by the canons on leaving the choir;[31] but the Laudian statute on this subject has been allowed to fall out of use at Canterbury.

Bishop Blomfield thinks that we ought to bow at the name of Jesus, according to the canon of 1604–1662; and that, although in his opinion we are not bound by the canons of 1640, there is no very serious objection to the additional obeisances there recommended. At the same time he points out that the canon itself does not command them, and considers that if we bow, we must teach our people not to misunderstand our act.[32]

The practice of crossing is, as we have seen, left indifferent by the rubric of Edward's first Book, and was afterwards forbidden by individual bishops, because of superstitions which were popularly connected with it. Hooker is induced, by the attacks of the puritans on this ceremony as used in baptism, to enter into a general defence of it.[33] He makes, however, a distinction between the use at baptism and that "in common life;" the latter he evidently treats as something which is indifferent, and, although sanctioned by primitive practice, yet by no means of continual obligation. Taylor writes, "It was a long and a general custom in the Church, upon all occasions of

be Izaak Walton)—in Chamberlain, Selected Letters, 255; and Bishop Burnet, Own Time, i. 691; ii. 636. This last writer gives it as his opinion that "all bowings to the altar have at least an ill appearance, and are of no use." A curious practice of bowing towards the King's seat in the chapel royal, is mentioned by Pepys, June 12, 1660; and by Evelyn, Apr. 8, 1685. At the Canongate Kirk, Edinburgh, the preacher bowed to the magistrates (Carus, Life of Simeon, 116, ed. 1).

[30] Popul. Antiquities, ed. i. pp. 83-4. [31] Pusey, in Brit. Mag. xii. 639.

[32] Charge, 1842, p. 44. [33] v. 65.

solemnity or greater action, to make the sign of the cross in the air, on the breast, or on the forehead; but he that in England should so, upon pretence because it was a catholic custom, would be ridiculous. For a custom obliges, by being a custom among them with whom we do converse, and to whom, in charity and prudence, we are to comply. To think we are bound to comply with any such custom, is to make ourselves too fond admirers of the actions, and more than servants to the sentences and customs, of ancient churches."[34]

[1869. A practice of bowing the head during the first part of the "Gloria Patri" has lately become common, and is said by its advocates to have been always kept up in some places. But it need hardly be said that such local observance (for which no intermediate evidence is offered, while we have evidence of various kinds as to standing up and turning eastward at the "Gloria"),[35] can be of no authority whatever. And it would seem that this usage, with some other novelties of gesture at the "Te Deum" and at the Creeds, are in truth rather derived from Roman books,[36] or from the practice of the Roman Church in our own day.]

[34] xiv. 53. [Against the practice, see Goode, 'Aids,' &c., 26-7.]

[35] [*e. g.*, Laud ordered it at Hereford. Life, by Heylyn, 247; see Hewetson's Advice to Wilson, quoted at p. 120; and the charges against Dr. Beale, Master of St. John's, Cambridge, 1641, in Hierurg. Angl. 366. The practice now in question appears either to have been unknown to the editors of the 'Hierurgia,' so lately as 1848, or to be one for which they were unable to find any precedent.]

[36] [The 'Directorium Anglicanum' (150), and the 'Annotated Prayer-Book' (7), quote as authority "an old canon of the church of England," Wilkins, iii. 20—which is really an *Irish* canon of 1351, and holds forth the inducement that those who perform this reverence "viventes a Deo in terra gratiam, et morientes cœli gloriam merito reportabunt." The form of obeisance is very precisely laid down for the priest and his assistant by Merati—"Inclinat profunde caput solummodo, non corpus, ideoque inclinatione minima, seu simplici, in qua tamen aliqualem humerorum inclinationem talis capitis inclinatio secum trahit," &c. Ap. Gavant. i. 173.]

VIII.

Plainsong.

It appears that some clergymen have of late[1] considered it their duty to utter the service in a wonderful sort of recitative,[2] on which Bishop Blomfield remarks as follows:—

"No person objects more strongly than I do to a declamatory and dramatic mode of reading; but I do not understand why those clergymen who seek to avoid that fault, should pass to the opposite extreme of rapid and monotonous recitation, which they describe as reading *plano cantu*. I am aware that in the old rubric even the lessons were directed to be sung in plain tune,[3] as also the epistle

[1] [*i.e.* in 1843. The absurdity which is the subject of this section has been shaken off by some, at least, of the more recent ultra-ritualists.]

[2] This is sometimes described as "intoning" the service. But in ecclesiastical usage it would appear from a comparison of other languages (Ital. *intonare*, Span. *entonar*, Germ. *intoniren*, Fr. *entonner*), that the term more properly means—*to begin the recitation of something which is to be taken up and continued by others*. Thus, it might rightly be applied where the rubric of 1549 directs (in accordance with the custom still kept up in cathedrals)—"*After the Gospel ended, the priest shall begin*, I believe in One God. *The clerks shall sing the rest*." The Germans have a proverb, "Wie der Priester intonirt, so schliesst der Küster." (Tieck, i. 310, ed. Paris.) Johnson, by defining *intone* as meaning "to make a slow, protracted noise," favours the questionable use of the word, in so far as it is employed to denote recitation in a peculiar tone, although the utterance with which we are concerned is not slow, but excessively fast. But his explanation is certainly not applicable to the quotation from the 'Dunciad,' by which he illustrates it—

> "So swells each windpipe; ass intones to ass
> Harmonick twang"—

for here it is evidently meant that one animal began the tone and that another took it up. See Ducange, s. vv. *Entonare*, *Intonare*.

[3] The rubric until the last revision was—"To the end the people may the better hear, in such places where they do sing, there shall the lessons be sung in a plain tune, after the manner of distinct reading." It has sometimes been said (*e.g.* in the 'Apology for Cathedral-service') that the assigned reason contains a recognition of the fact, that a modulated tone

and gospel. But this was wisely altered. There are certain parts of the service which the rubric still directs to be said *or* sung; with reference, probably, to 'choirs and places where they sing,' as the rubric expresses it, and to parish churches and chapels, where the prayers are *said* and not *sung*. But, whether said or sung, it should be devoutly, audibly and distinctly. The XIVth canon directs that the Common Prayer 'be said or sung distinctly and reverently.' Queen Elizabeth's injunction of 1559 was—'that all readers of public prayers be charged to read leisurely, plainly, and distinctly.' The writer of the homily on Common Prayer cites a constitution of Justinian to the same effect; the rule laid down in the *Reformatio Legum* is—'partite voces et distincte pronuncient, et cantus sit illorum clarus et aptus, ut ad auditorum sensum et intelligentiam proveniant.' The reason why so great stress was laid on the distinct reading of the Church-service, independently of its obvious necessity, was the general prevalence of an opposite practice among the popish clergy, many of whom, after they had conformed to the Liturgy, read it as they had been accustomed to read the prayers in their breviary.

"It is much to be regretted that any of the clergy of our reformed Church, which justly glories in a form of public prayer so framed that the people may both understand it and bear a part in it, should think it necessary, profitable, or consistent with the Church's intentions, to read it in a hurried and indistinct manner."[4]

can be understood at a greater distance than ordinary reading. It is, however, a mistake to apply that fact, however unquestionable in itself, to the explanation of this rubric, which is merely intended to prescribe a *simpler* manner for the lessons, &c., than for other parts of the service. Aless renders it—"In his locis, in quibus musica figuralis cani solet, lectiones, &c., simpliciter uno tono, in modum perpetuæ dictionis, distincte legantur" (ap. Bucer. Scripta Anglic. p. 393, ed. Basil. 1577), and in the Latin P. B. of Elizabeth the words are, "simpliciter et naturali tono." (Eliz. Liturgies, ed. Park. Soc. 330.)

[4] Charge, 1842, 54-6.

The reader will, perhaps, hardly thank me for adding anything to this comprehensive and forcible passage.

That the choral chant was intended by our Reformers to be retained in the Church, is abundantly proved in Mr. Jebb's work on the 'Choral Service of the Church,'[5] and by Mr. William Dyce, in the preface to his adaptation of Marbecke's musically-noted Prayer-Book.

That with which we are now concerned, however, is not the chant of cathedrals, but a different mode, which is introduced into parish churches. Dr. Jebb, whose profound acquaintance with ecclesiastical music gives especial value to his opinion on such a subject, condemns it very energetically, as a "monotonous whine," a "hybrid imitation of chanting," worthy only of "ill-taught schoolboys," the offspring of "a perversity which is vexatious, setting all common sense at defiance, and hindering religion."[6] After having once witnessed a performance of this kind by an adept, I must concur to the full in these censures.

In 1546, Henry VIII.'s Primer, in a direction printed before the Litany, orders that "That which is printed in black letters is to be said or sung by the priest with an audible voice; that is to say, so loud and so plainly that it may be well understanded of the hearers."[7]

The Book of 1549 throughout recognizes the distinction between places "where they sing," *i.e.* where there are choral establishments,—and ordinary churches, "where there be no clerks." The latter are exempted from chanting.

In December, 1549, Hooper writes "Ne pereat papatus, sacrificuli, etsi Latinum idioma abrogare cogantur, tonum eundem et musicam semper diligentissime observant, quem hactenus in papatu solebant."[8]

In like manner, Bucer writes to Calvin, on Whitsunday, 1550—"Plerique parochorum sic sacra recitant et admi-

[5] Sections 22-24.
[6] pp. 179, 244, 323.
[7] Three Primers, ed. Oxf. 1848, p. 480.
[8] Epp. Tigur. 46.

nistrant, ut populus tantundem de Christi mysteriis intelligat, atque si adhuc Latina et non vernacula lingua uterentur."[9]

In consequence of such complaints, "the course taken [at a visitation] was, that in all the parish churches the service should be read in a plain and audible voice; but, that the former way should remain in cathedrals, where there were great choirs, who were well acquainted with that tone, and where it agreed better with the music that was used in the anthems. It was said that those who had been accustomed to read in that voice could not easily alter it, but as those dropt off and died, others would be put in their places, who would officiate in a plainer voice."[10]

The tone now in question would seem to be the same with that which is here represented as used by those of the clergy who were not sufficiently acquainted with the cathedral manner of chanting. To fall into such a tone is, as an observation of any village school will show, extremely natural—*i.e.* in the same sense in which any other awkward habit is natural; and it may be maintained with less of exertion than the ordinary reading-tone of educated persons. To these circumstances, combined with the fact that the Latin service would in any case have been unintelligible to the people, and was often not understood by the clergy themselves, we may, perhaps, attribute its introduction in the performance of Divine offices.[11] Be that as

[9] Epp. Tigur. 356. [10] Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 101.

[11] When used in the lessons, it does not appear to be consistent with the charge given to readers at their ordination according to the Roman Pontifical.—"Studete verba Dei, videlicet lectiones sacras, distincte et aperte ad intelligentiam et ædificationem fidelium proferre . . . Itaque dum legitis in alto loco ecclesiæ stetis, ut ab omnibus audiamini, &c." These ministers, according to Durandus, are ordained, "ut libros Dei distincte et aperte ad intelligendum legant, sicut in veteri Testamento accipimus Esdram fecisse." (Rationale, ii. 4.) St. Isidore of Seville is so far from prescribing monotonous reading, that he seems almost to border on an opposite error.—The reader, he says, is to officiate so that "ad intellectum omnium mentes sensusque promoveat, discernendo genera pronunciationis, atque exprimendo

it may, we see that it was considered inconsistent with the object of English service, and was intended by the Reformers to be abolished as soon as possible.

To Bishop Blomfield's extract from the 'Reformatio Legum,' a few words may be added—"Itaque vibratam illam et operosam musicam, quæ figurata dicitur, auferri placet, quæ sic in multitudinis auribus tumultuatur, ut saepe linguam non possit ipsam loquentium intelligere."[12] The section, it is to be observed, refers to choral foundations.

In addition to his Lordship's quotation from the injunctions of 1559, we may notice, that in those injunctions the distinction of churches which have a choral establishment from others is recognized, and for the former it is ordered "that there be a modest and distinct song so used in all parts of the common prayers, that the same may be as plainly understood as if it were read without singing."[13] The same qualities of reverence, sobriety, distinctness, &c. which are spoken of in these injunctions and in the canon of 1604, are also insisted on in many other documents of the time."[14]

It is worthy of note, that the xxxvth Article of Religion uses much the same language as to the reading of homilies; it is, therefore, as much against the intentions of the Church that this strange tone should be employed in the ordinary service as in preaching.

Jewell reproaches the Romanists for "whispering" and "mumbling" their prayers, and alleges ancient authorities

omnium sententiarum proprios affectus, modo indicantis voce, modo dolentis, modo increpantis, modo exhortantis, sive his similia, secundum genus propriæ pronunciationis. Porro vox lectoris simplex erit, et clara, ad omne pronunciationis genus accommodata," &c. (De Officiis Eccl. l. ii. c. 11.) See too Schmid, ii. 110; Maitland on the Dark Ages, 23.

[12] p. 90, ed. Cardwell. [13] Doc. Ann. i. 196.

[14] Articles to be subscribed by ministers and readers, 1559-1561 (Strype, Ann. i. 151; Doc. Ann. i. 269); the Advertisements of 1565 (Doc. Ann. i. 291); Archbishop Parker's Visitation-Articles, 1563, 1569, 1575 (ib. 324; Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 403, 416); Canons of 1571 (Synodalia, 121), &c.

for the propriety of reading the service "distinctly and plainly, with loud and open voice."[15]

At the Savoy conference, the old rubric for singing the lessons in a plain tune was objected to by the presbyterians; and the episcopal divines reply—"The rubric directs only such singing as is after the manner of distinct reading; and we never heard of any inconvenience thereby, and therefore conceive this demand to be needless."[16] The rubric, however, was eventually altered.

It appears, therefore, that while the Church recognizes two descriptions of service—the choral and that of ordinary churches—distinctness is required in each of these; and that there is no recognition of the third manner, now under consideration. Our best divines give no sanction to it; such of them as were bishops often inquire in their articles as to reverence, clearness, and distinctness in the manner of reading the service.[17]

Enough has, I trust, been said to show that this fantastical fashion is as little countenanced by authority and precedent as by taste, reason, or charity. "Quum vero inclinata ululantique voce, more Asiatico, canere coepisset, quis eum ferret? aut quis potius non juberet auferri?"[18]

[15] Def. Apol. 459.

[16] Cardw. Conf. 315-351. See Jebb, Section xliv.

[17] See further Herbert's Country Parson, c. vi.; Bull's Works, ii. 19, and Nelson's Life of him, pp. 46-8; Kettlewell's Life, Append. p. xxxiv.; Wilson on the Lord's Supper, in Works, iv. 371; Stillingfleet's Ecclesiastical Cases, i. 202; Bishop Jebb's Pastoral Instructions, p. 203; Lord Stowell in Burn, ed. Phillimore, iii. 440; and for the distinction between good reading and theatrical declamation, Bp. O'Brien's Charge, 1842, ed. 3, p. 11.

[18] Cic. Orator, c. 8. It has been often asserted that by the word *saying* the Church intends recitative, as distinguished from *reading*. But, as has been already pointed out (p. 49), the words are used indifferently in the Prayer-Book. A rubric of the marriage-service had, until the last revision —"Then shall be *said* a *sermon*." (Keeling, 305.)

IX.

The Psalms.

It is remarkable that the Prayer-Book gives no direction either as to the attitude which is to be observed at the saying of the psalms, or as to the manner in which they are to be said. The standing position and the alternate recitation both rest on tradition, which in the case of the former appears to be of recent origin.

(1.) It might be supposed that the order for standing up at the "Gloria Patri" ought necessarily to be construed as extending to the psalms; but this inference is not borne out by history. Heylyn, in describing the service of Elizabeth's reign, tells us that the people stood at the creed, the Gloria Patri, and the gospels, but makes no mention of standing at the psalms.[1]

Bishop Buckeridge (1618) says, "We stand at the creed and the reading of the gospel, and we sit at the reading of psalms and lessons."[2] The inquiries of bishops in that age,[3] while they speak of standing at the doxology, at the gospel, and in some cases at the canticles, say nothing of standing at the psalms. Laud was charged with innovations in having "brought in standing up at every recital of 'Glory be, &c.,' after every psalm;" and he defended himself on the ground that the custom was ancient, although not prescribed by any rubric or canon; but nothing is said on either side as to standing at the psalms themselves.[4] When, therefore, it was ordered at the revision of 1662 that all should stand at the doxology, it would seem that the legal requirement was not meant to extend further than the orders which Laud and others had taken it on themselves to lay down on their own authority. In 1717, Fleetwood, bishop of Ely, having been consulted by some parishioners

[1] Hist. Ref. ii. 96.
[2] Lathbury, Hist. of C. P. 150.
[3] *e.g.* Harsnett, in Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 486; Montagu, ib. 582.
[4] Prynne, Cant. Doom, 64, 80, 469.

of St. Andrew's, Holborn (where his London residence was situated) as to certain "oddnesses" which had been introduced by their curate, told them that standing at the psalms had not been, and was not, usual in parish churches, although it was customary to stand at the doxology, the creeds, and the canticles.[5]

(2.) The rubric gives no order that the people shall join with their lips in the psalms at all; much less that they shall recite the verses alternately with the minister. Bishop Bedell, we are told, used to read the whole throughout, saying that he found no authority for a different practice;[6] and one Mr. Slingsby Bethel in 1697 complained of the people's reading the alternate verses as "taking the minister's office out of his hands," and as being a violation of the rubric.[7] Yet so completely has the tradition been regarded as a rule, that we find the puritans continually complaining of the alternate reading as a grievance inseparable from the Church without fresh legislation. A petition is presented by Nowell and others to the convocation of 1562, praying "that the psalms be sung distinctly by the whole congregation, or said with the other prayers by the minister alone."[8] Hooker, in replying to those who found fault with the saying alternately, does not give any hint that the Church is not accountable for the custom, or that ministers are not bound to use it, but puts forth his majestic strength in defending it on its own merits.[9] The episcopal divines at the Savoy take a similar course;[10] and, although it was proposed at the last revision that the practice should be enjoined by an express rubric (as we learn from Sancroft's MS.) no alteration was then introduced—the sanction of custom being apparently regarded as sufficient.

[5] Works, folio, pp. 722, *seqq*. Hewetson's directions, quoted at p. 120, were evidently beyond the common usage.

[6] Life, in Hone's Eminent Christians, ii. 260.

[7] Hierurg. Angl. 329. [8] Strype, Annals, i. 335.

[9] Eccl. Pol. v. 37-39. Whitgift, however, while he defends the practice, says that "it is no part of the book," iii. 385. [10] Cardw. Conf. 305-338.

(3.) The second part of the doxology used at the end of psalms and hymns is styled *Answer;* by which term, wherever else it is used in our present Liturgy, and also in the older Books (where it occurred much oftener), it is intended that the words shall be said by the *people.* The Scotch Liturgy is express—"The people shall answer, *As it was in the beginning,* &c." It would seem, therefore, that in propriety the minister ought always to say the first part of the doxology.

X.

THE LESSONS—MUSIC AFTER THEM—READING BY LAYMEN.

(*a.*) WHEN the presbyterians at the Savoy Conference objected to the public reading of the Apocrypha, the episcopal divines replied—"If their fear be that by this mean those books may come to be of equal esteem with the canon, they may be secured against that by the title which the Church hath put upon them, calling them *apocryphal.*"[1]

Hence it would seem that we may be justified in announcing apocryphal lessons as such. Any other addition to the form of announcing which the rubric prescribes, or the adoption of any other form, is unauthorized.

(*b.*) The use of what is called a *voluntary* after the lessons, in the times next to the Reformation, is established by the following passage of Bacon.[2] "After the reading of the Word, it was thought fit there should be some pause for holy meditation, before they proceeded to the rest of the service; which pause was thought fit to be filled rather with some grave sound than with a still silence; which was the reason of the playing upon the organs after the Scriptures read."

(*c.*) In the rubric by which the reading of the lessons

[1] Card. Conf. 341.

[2] 'Pacification of the Church,' Works, ii. 540, ed. 1819.

is directed, the words were formerly—"*the minister* that readeth." The substitution of "*he* that readeth" by the last revisers is an authority for allowing this office to be performed by laymen, as is usual in the universities.[3] It appears that, before the rubrical sanction was introduced, custom had assigned to the clerk the reading of the first lesson and the epistle.[4] Grindal both at York and at Canterbury requires that persons appointed to the office of parish-clerk should be able to read these, "as is used;" and this function (or, at least, the reading of the first lesson) was acknowledged to belong to them by episcopal articles, which at the same time forbade them to "meddle with things above their office," such as churching of women and burial of the dead.[5] The first lesson was very commonly read in cathedrals by the lay clerks, and still is so [1843] on weekdays at Lichfield.[6]

[3] Bennett, however, vehemently denounces this practice as being "illegal as well as abominable in itself, and a flat contradiction to all primitive order." Hist. of C. P. 94.

[4] Perhaps, indeed, the word "minister" did not here necessarily imply that the reader must be a person in holy orders. In the rubric of 1549 it is said that "the priest, or *he that is appointed*, shall read the epistle . . The *minister* shall read the epistle . . . The priest, or *one appointed to read the gospel*, shall say . . . The *priest or deacon* then shall read the gospel." (Keeling, 175.) This looks as if the reader of the epistle need not be a priest or deacon.

[5] See, *e.g.*, Williams, as bishop of Lincoln, in Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 498-9, 524; Grindal, Remains, 147-168.

[6] Apology for Cathed. Service, 43; Jebb, 327. Lessons were anciently read by subdeacons and ministers of the minor orders. (Martene, iii. 14.) Hincmar, archbishop of Reims, in the latter half of the 9th century, asks, "Si presbyter habeat clericum qui possit tenere scholam, *aut legere epistolam*, aut canere volcat, prout necessarium sibi videtur." (Opera, ed. Paris, 1645, i. 716.) Laymen, and even children, were sometimes admitted to read. (Schmid. i. 256.) Kings and emperors claimed the reading of that lesson in the Christmas office which records the decree of Cæsar Augustus (Mores Catholici, b. v.)—of which there was a remarkable instance at the Council of Constance, when the emperor-elect, Sigismund, arrived at Constance early on Christmas morning (Von der Hardt, iv. 28). In the Roman Church, the lower orders have long been practically obsolete, and are now conferred all at once as symbolical steps towards the priesthood, while the duties properly connected with them are commonly performed

The duties of the epistler and gospeller, who are required by the advertisements of 1565 and by the XXIVth canon as assistants to the officiating priest in cathedrals, were not uncommonly discharged by laymen.[7] Laud abolished this practice at Winchester, where he enjoined that at the daily second service[8] no member of the choir who was not in holy orders should presume to read the epistle or the gospel; and that on the greater days these should be read by the dean and prebendaries "seriatim, in personis suis propriis."[9]

Burnet[10] and Wheatley complain of a practice of allowing the litany to be said in cathedrals by laymen. Dr. Jebb informs us that this custom is still [1843] kept up at Lincoln, where the performance abundantly justifies the idea which we might naturally conceive of its unfitness.[11] Unseemly as the very notion of such a practice appears, however, it is not, as to the earlier part, forbidden by the Prayer-Book. There is no limitation in the rubric; and Bishop Sparrow—himself one of the commissioners who revised the Liturgy in 1662—writes: "In the former part of the litany, the priest hath not a part so proper but that it may be said by a deacon *or other*, and it useth to be sung by such in cathedral and collegiate churches or chapels."[12]

It would appear from Sparrow's words that the latter part of the litany was in his day said by the priest only. In the early years of the Reformation, when deacons were the only resident clergymen in many parishes, and when indeed the person licensed to officiate was often only a lay reader, it is evident that no such rule can have been observed. The rubric of 1662 expressly names the priest as the minister in this part of the office; custom, however, admits deacons also to read it.

by laymen. Walter, Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts, p. 34; Pugin's Glossary, p. 1; Möhler, Symbolik, 395.

[7] See Cosin, iv. 367, v. 90; Jebb, 479-480.

[8] See below, c. xvii. § *k*.

[9] Works, v. 478-9.

[10] Own Time, ii. 636.

[11] Choral Service, 439.

[12] Rationale, 78.

In the books before the last review it was ordered that the general confession in the Communion-service should "be made in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy communion, either *by one of them*, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself;"[13] and a rubric at the end of the Catechism appeared to contemplate the employment of laymen as catechists in the public service.[14] In each of these places, an alteration was introduced by the revisers of 1662.

XI.

The Place for Reading the Litany.

Although we have already discussed the question in what place the morning and evening prayer ought to be read, that of the place for reading the litany requires a separate examination.

In the first year of Edward VI. it was enjoined that in parish-churches, "The priests, with other of the quire, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say the litany" (which had been set forth in English during the reign of Henry)—"and in cathedral or collegiate churches the same shall be done in such places as our commissaries in our visitation shall appoint."[1] Cranmer inquires accordingly in the same year, "whether they have said or sung the litany in any place but upon their knees, in the midst of the church."[2]

The rubric of 1549 makes express reference to the injunctions on this subject; and a rubric of the commination-service, which has been in our books from the beginning, assumes that the litany is customarily said in a peculiar place.

In 1559, Queen Elizabeth renewed the injunction,[3] with

[13] Keeling, 201. [14] Ib. 285. [1] Doc. Ann. i. 15.
[2] Ib. 46. [3] Ib. 187.

an especial intention to abolish the practice against which it had been directed, viz. the saying of such forms in procession about the church and churchyard.

In 1563, Grindal, then bishop of London, gave direction in his form of prayers to be used during the plague—"The litany is to be read in the midst of the people."[4]

Hooker,[5] and the passages quoted from his adversaries in Mr. Keble's edition, witness to the observance of the same practice in the end of the century; although Whitgift, in answer to Cartwright, says, "Neither doth the book appoint any certain place for the litany to be said in," and refers the matter to the ordinary.[6]

1627. Cosin, in his articles as archdeacon of the East Riding, inquires, "Have you a little faldstool or desk, with some decent carpet over it, in the middle alley of your church, whereat the litany may be said?"[7]

1640. Juxon, bishop of London, asks, "In what convenient place of your church or chapel doth [your parson, vicar, or curate] say the [litany], and by whom was that place appointed?"[8]

In the following year we find it charged on the bishops as a novelty, that they introduced "reading the litany in the midst of the body of the church in many of the parochial churches,"—in this, as in other respects, "pretending for their innovations the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, which are not in force, but by way of commentary and imposition." [*ex*position?][9]

In Sancroft's book, it is suggested that the following addition be made to the rubric—"The priest or clerks kneeling in the midst of the choir, and all the people kneeling, and answering as followeth." This suggestion was not adopted at the revision of 1662; but in that year we find the probable author of it, Cosin, making inquiry in his

[4] Rem. 84; cf. Parker's Correspondence, 185. [5] v. 30, 4.
[6] See Whitg. ii. 462-3.
[7] Works, ii. 4; cf. pp. 7, 14, ib. See the 'Annotated P. B.,' 40.
[8] Rit. Comm. Rep. 589. [9] Cardw. Conf. 273.

articles whether there be a litany-desk in the midst of the church," according to the injunctions set forth in the time of Q. Elizabeth."[10]

The Committee of 1641 objects to the practice as novel in parochial churches only; by which circumstance, and by one of Cosin's notes,[11] we are warranted in supposing that in cathedrals it had always been kept up. It is so in some cathedrals at this day—only one priest however, or perhaps two, going into the middle of the choir.[12]

Wheatley speaks of the injunctions as still in force; but his language shows that in the practice of his time they were disregarded. And on a consideration of the whole history, it appears that the authority is not of any great cogency; more especially as the last revisers of the Prayer-Book refused to declare themselves expressly against the general custom by inserting in the rubric a direction resembling that of the forgotten injunctions.

XII.

The Communion-Table or Altar.

(*a.*) *The Position.*

Rubric:—"The table at the communion-time, having a fair white linen cloth upon it, shall stand in the body of the church, or in the chancel, where morning and evening prayer are appointed to be said."

This has been in our Books since 1552. The altars in churches had been taken down by virtue of an order issued in the fourth year of Edward VI. as their continuance was supposed to favour certain superstitions.[1] Altars were, of course, re-erected under Queen Mary; and in 1559 we find divines requesting Elizabeth again to order their removal.

[10] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 601.

[11] Works, v. 509.

[12] [At Canterbury it was revived in the time of Dean Bagot, probably about 1840.]

[1] Doc. Ann. i. 82-89.

They argue that these "are none of those things which were established by act of parliament in the second year of King Edward," because (among other reasons), while the Prayer-Book of that year was still in force, Ridley had appealed to its expressions for a justification of his proceedings in taking down the altars.[2]

In the Queen's injunctions, which came out soon after, it is ordered "That the holy table in every church be set *in the place where the altar stood*, and so to stand save when the communion of the sacrament is to be distributed; at which time the same shall be so placed in good sort within the chancel, as whereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, communicate. And after the communion done, from time to time the same holy table to be placed where it stood before."[3] On the words which I have given in italics, Laud argues that the ends ought to be north and south; "to set it east and west had been cross the place where the altar stood, and not in it."[4] The same argument is advanced by Heylyn.[5] Williams replies—"The injunction, directed to her Majesty's *subjects*, and not to her *mathematicians*, is likelier to use the term of a common and ordinary, than of a proper and mathematical, place."[6] Among the Bishops' interpretations of the injunctions, 1561, we find this:—"That the table be removed out of the choir into the body of the church, before the chancel-door, where either the choir seemeth to be too little, or at great feasts of receivings; and at the end of the communion, to be set up again, according to the injunctions."[7]

1561. The Queen's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical issue an order that "if in any chancel the [altar] steps be transposed, they be not erected again, but that the place be decently paved, where the communion-table

[2] Strype, Ann. i. 162.
[3] Doc. Ann. i. 202.
[4] Troubles, p. 262.
[5] Coal from the Altar, 3rd ed. p. 19.
[6] Holy Table, 44.
[7] Doc. Ann. i. 205.

shall stand out of the times of receiving the communion and that there be fixed upon the wall over the said communion-board the tables of God's precepts, imprinted for the said purpose."[8] There is much disputation between Heylyn[9] and Williams[10] as to the meaning of this injunction. Mr. Pugin speaks of it as "seeming to imply that the table was not to be moved in time of communion;"[11] but this construction can only be accounted for by supposing that he had seen the order in some mutilated form.

1562. Among matters to be moved by a party in the convocation, is this—"That the table from henceforth stand no more altarwise, but stand in such place as is appointed by the Book of Common-Prayer."[12]

1564. The table at Canterbury Cathedral stood north and south, except in communion-time; but at communion, it was "set east and west."[13]

1565. Jewel, in reply to Harding's charge of having "overthrown altars," says, "An altar we have, such as Christ and his Apostles, and other holy fathers had, which was made, not of stone, but of timber, and stood not at the end of the quire, but in the midst of the people."[14]

1565. Advertisements. "They shall decently cover with carpet, silk, or other decent covering, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of the ministration, the communion-table, and set the ten commandments over the said table."[15] Bishop Wren in his 'Answer' interprets this as "directly implying that it should stand in the east, even in communion-time."[16] The same construction is given by Heylyn.[17] L'Estrange[18] concludes, apparently with greater

[8] [These orders, which are not included in any of the collections, were reprinted by the late Dean Goode in the British Magazine, xxxiv. 419-421, and thence copied into the Eccles. Hist. Society's edition of Heylyn's Hist. Ref. ii. 360-2.] [9] Coal from the Altar, 22. [10] Holy Table, 41.
[11] Dublin Review, No. xxiii. 162. [12] Strype, Ann. i. 318.
[13] Strype, Parker, 183. [14] Works, ed. Park. Soc. i. 98.
[15] Doc. Ann. i. 292. [16] Parentalia, 76.
[17] Life of Laud, 20, and Tracts in the Altar controversy.
[18] Alliance, 166.

reason, from a comparison with the canons of 1604, that "the table placed where the altar stood, was but seposed, set out of the way, during only the time of non-communication." Williams, wishing to make out that the table need not stand close to the wall, argues against Heylyn, that "to be fixed on the east wall, over the communion-board, can signify nothing else but that [the commandments] should be fixed higher than the communion-table, upon some part of the east wall, so as the people, seeing the communion-table, might over that see and read the ten commandments.[19]

1583. Middleton, bishop of St. David's, orders that "when there is a communion to be ministered, the communion-table be placed at the lower end of the chancel, as near unto the people as may be convenient; and when the ministration is done, remove it to the upper end of the said chancel."[20]

1604. Canon LXXXII. directs that the table shall "stand" (in the place of the altar, doubtless), saving when the holy communion is to be administered; at which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel as thereby the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in greater number, may communicate with the said minister;[21] and that the ten commandments be set upon the east end of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same."[22]

[19] Holy Table, 43.

[20] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 426.

[21] Heylyn's commentary on this is marked by his usual boldness. The word *church* he supposes to be inserted, lest otherwise some lately-built churches, in which there were no chancels, should be deprived of the communion. (Antidotum Lincolniense, p. 95.) He does not explain how it happens that the rubric of 1552, which was made before the erection of any such churches, accords in this point with the canon; nor how it happens that *church* is named in the canon before *chancel*. In short both the canon and the rubric allow the use of chancels only when equally convenient with the body of the church for hearing and communicating.

[22] The canon proceeds to direct that "other chosen sentences" be "written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels, in places con-

While parish churches[23] were regulated by the orders which have been quoted, a different custom prevailed elsewhere. The altar was retained in the royal chapels; images, lights, and a silver crucifix were used as ornaments under Queen Elizabeth; and although some changes in these took place afterwards,[24] the altar always remained, standing in the east, with its ends north and south. The private chapels of bishops were arranged in like manner;[25] and the same was the case in most cathedrals. Laud, when on being appointed dean of Gloucester, in 1616, he removed the table there from the middle of the choir, speaks of that position as contrary to the practice of other cathedral churches.[26]

During Abbot's primacy (although his own articles of inquiry are agreeable to the orders of the church),[27] that part of the injunctions and canons which prescribed the

venient." It is obvious that the intention of these orders as to the decalogue and other texts is not fulfilled, unless the character adopted be one which people of scanty education can read without difficulty. See Appendix III.

[23] There were exceptions, such as St. Giles, Cripplegate (Nalson, ii. 491); and others are alleged by Bishop Wren, 'Parentalia,' 77.

[24] The crucifix was broken by the Queen's fool, at the instigation of Knolles (Heylyn, Hist. Ref. 296). But it, or at least a cross, was reintroduced in 1570 (Parker Corresp. p. 379), and it would seem from Laud's 'Troubles' (p. 316) that an embroidered figure of the same kind was always retained in the hangings behind the altar.

[25] Doc. Ann. i. 243.

[26] Heylyn's Laud, 63. Prynne asserts that "this was then a gross untruth; for it then stood not so in any cathedrals." (Cant. Doom, 77.) Where Prynne contradicts Laud, we shall generally be safe in believing the Archbishop. In this case we have the corroborative fact, that the Commons, when in 1640 they complained of the removal of tables "in parish-churches, and chapels in the universities" (Rushw. iii. 1148), made no mention of cathedrals; whence we may presume that in these the practice had generally been as Laud states it. The table was set altarwise at Durham some years before 1624. (Cosin, vol. i. pp. xiii-xxvii.) As to the university-custom, Sir Nathaniel Brent deposed that before Laud's chancellorship "there were no copes, altars, nor communion-tables turned and railed about altar-wise, in churches or colleges at Oxford." (Cant. Doom, 71.) I have not attempted in the text to distinguish between the ancient altars which remained, or the new stone altars which were erected, in some places, and the tables which were placed altarwise in others.

[27] See Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 470.

ordinary place of the table in parish churches was generally neglected; it was left at all times in the middle of the chancel, or in the body of the church, the decent covering of it was neglected, and the profanations which it underwent in consequence are forcibly stated by Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, in a paper of reasons for an alteration.[28] To remedy these evils was a chief object with Laud and his school; and their attempts met with very violent opposition. The positions in the nave and at the east end had come to be looked on respectively as expressions of two opposite doctrines on the sacrament; to remove the table, therefore, to fence it with rails, to turn the ends north and south, were measures which raised loud outcries of popery.

In 1628, the executors of Mr. Blucknall, who had left gifts to Abingdon church, ordered the table to be placed in the east; and the court of chancery confirmed the order.[29]

In 1633, Archbishop Abbot, usually favourable to the puritans, gave a decision against them in the matter of Crayford church; ordering that communicants should kneel on the two ascents or foot-paces in the chancel, before the table.[30]

In the same year (Laud having in the mean time succeeded to the primacy), a decision was given respecting the church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's, London. The dean and chapter of the cathedral, as ordinaries of the church, had ordered that the table should be placed in the east, altar-wise; the King in council confirmed the order, and, in answer to the allegation of rubrics and canons to the contrary, declared that the matter belonged to the jurisdiction of the ordinary.[31]

The Archbishop only inquires, in 1634, as he had before inquired when bishop of London,[32] "Whether is the table placed in such convenient sort within the chancel or church, as that the minister may be best heard in his ministry and

[28] Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 272.
[29] Heylyn's Laud, 162.
[30] Doc. Ann. No. 137.
[31] Doc. Ann. No. 140.
[32] A.D. 1628, Works, v. 405.

the administration, and that the greatest number may communicate? And whether is it so used out of time of Divine service as is not agreeable to the holy use of it?"[33] His articles for Worcester, in the following year, agree with this. In the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, 1636, it is asked —"Have you a decent communion-table, placed as it ought to be, so as may be most convenient for the due administration of the holy communion, and of that part of Divine service there appointed to be said?"

In the case of Dulwich College, he asks "Whether is, or lately was, your communion-table placed in the body of your church, and not in your chancel? if yea, by whose direction was the same, and whether was not the same first placed at the east end of your chancel?"[34] But this deviation from the ordinary course of his inquiries makes his moderation as to parish churches more marked.

We find, however, that more stringent measures were about this time adopted elsewhere.

Thus, Wren enjoins in the diocese of Norwich, 1636, "That the communion-table in every church do always stand close under the east wall of the chancel, the ends thereof north and south, unless the ordinary give particular direction otherwise, and the rail be made before it according to the Archbishop's late injunctions, reaching cross from the north wall to the south wall; near one yard in height, so thick with pillars that dogs may not get in."[35] It appears that in some instances, where sufficient reason could be shown, he allowed the tables to stand otherwise.[36]

1638. Montagu insists that the table "be fixedly set in such convenient sort and place within the chancel as hath been appointed by authority, according to the practice of

[33] Williams, Holy Table, 84.

[34] Works, v. 477.

[35] Doc. Ann. ii. 202. Cf. Duppa's articles for Chichester, 1636, Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 576. There was a story of a dog entering a church, and seizing on the bread intended for consecration, there being no rail to hinder him. (Laud, Troubles, &c., p. 562; Wren, Parentalia, 76.)

[36] Parentalia, 76.

the ancient Church; *i.e.* at the east end of the chancel, close unto the wall, upon an ascent or higher ground." He asks if it be "removed down at any time, either for or without communion, into the lower part of the chancel, or body of the church?"[37]

Besides the puritans,[38] other opponents rose up against these measures. A controversy was waged,[39] in which Williams, then bishop of Lincoln, and Heylyn, one of the King's chaplains, and a strong partisan of the primate, were most conspicuous—each of them displaying ability and learning in a far greater degree than fairness or decency. Williams allowed the table to stand according to Laud's wishes in his cathedral, and in his private chapel; but affirmed that "without some new canon it is not to stand altarwise" in parish churches.[40] He ordered that at communion it should be placed according to convenience; that at other times it stand in the east, but with its ends east and west.[41] If the position in the east were found con-

[37] p. 52.

[38] A curious specimen of the puritanical class is a pamphlet entitled 'The Retractation of Mr. Charles Chancy, formerly minister of Ware, in Hertfordshire; wherein is proved the unlawfulness and danger of railing in altars or communion-tables."

[39] About 1636-7. Williams had some years before written 'A Letter to the Vicar of Grantham,' which was the foundation of the dispute. The chief publications were—'A Coal from the Altar' (Heylyn); 'The Holy Table, Name and Thing' (Williams); 'Altare Christianum' (Pocklington); 'Antidotum Lincolniense' (Heylyn). [Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 551.]

[40] Holy Table, 20.

[41] The table at Little Gidding was so placed, which Dr. Peckard supposes to have been done purely out of obedience to the diocesan's orders. (Eccl. Biog. iv. 249.) I have, however, as has already been intimated, considerable doubt whether Ferrar ought to be reckoned a Laudian churchman. There is no proof that the table stood otherwise before the orders were issued by Bishop Williams; and if Ferrar had disliked the position, there were very reasonable grounds for claiming an exemption. He had restored the church from the condition of a barn; it might well be considered as the private chapel of the mansion-house, which adjoined it, and was the only dwelling in the parish (ib. 172). The bishop, therefore, could hardly have refused, on application, to give leave that it should be ordered after the fashion of his own chapel.

venient at all times, still he considered it uncanonical to *fix* the table.[42] And whereas in his visitation of 1635 he had copied Laud's article of the preceding year, his inquiry in 1641 was—"Doth your communion-table stand in the ancient place where it ought to do, or where it hath done for the greatest part of these sixty years last past, or hath it been removed to the east end, and placed altarwise, and by whom and whose authority hath it been so placed?"[43]

In the vnth canon of 1640, the matter is declared to be of its own nature indifferent; but it is judged convenient that there be a general conformity to the practice which had been observed "in the royal chapels, in most cathedrals, and some parochial churches, saving always the general liberty left to the bishops by law, during the time of administration of the holy communion." This expresses Laud's own opinion.[44] By the same canon it is ordered "That the communion-tables in all chancels or chapels be decently severed with rails, to protect them from profanations."

The Commons soon after ordered that the tables should be removed into the body of the church, and that the rails should be taken away.[45]

The Presbyterian 'Directory' orders the table to be so conveniently placed that "the communicants may sit about it or at it."[46]

In Sancroft's Prayer-Book it is suggested that the rubric be altered as follows, in accordance with the Scotch Liturgy of 1636: "The table always standing in the midst, at the upper end of the chancel (or of the church, where a chancel is wanting), and being at all times covered with a

[42] Holy Table, 13-19-204.

[43] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 551.

[44] Wren's Parentalia, p. 15.

[45] Sept. 8, 1641. (Nalson, ii. 482.) The order was published without the concurrence of the other House. The Commons had for some time before communicated in the middle of the church at Westminster Abbey, with the willing permission of the dean, Bishop Williams. (Ib. i. 563.)

[46] Hall, Reliquiæ Liturgicæ, iii. 54.

carpet of silk, shall also have at the communion-time a fair white linen cloth and the priest, standing at the north side (or end) shall say," &c. The revisers did not make any change in the rubric, although the new direction that the priest should turn "to the people" in reading the commandments seems intended to favour the eastern position of the table. But we find Wren and Cosin inquiring in 1662 whether it be placed at the east or upper end of the chancel; while Wren also asks whether the ends be set north and south.[47] Barnard, the biographer of Heylyn, complains in 1683 that "in most country churches to this day the table is set at the hither end of the chancel, without any traverse or rails to fence it;"[48] but, although the change after the Restoration appears to have been gradual, the fashion of placing the holy table altarwise has long been all but universal.[49]

From what we have seen, it may be concluded,

1. That the rubric and the canon of 1604 favour the removal of the holy table at communion-time:

2. That the usual position before Archbishop Laud's reforms was with the ends east and west; and this is

[47] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 557, 601. The rubric had before ordered the priest to turn "to the people" at the Absolution.

[48] Heylyn, Hist. Ref., ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc. i. cx.

[49] See Evelyn, Diary, April 6, 1662; March 2, 1678. At Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, Langley, Shropshire, and Shillingford, Berks, the table to this day stands [or stood about 1843] in the middle of the chancel, with its ends east and west, and the same position is common in Jersey (Glossary of Architecture, ed. 4, p. 14). I am indebted to [the late] Archdeacon Berens for a description of the arrangement which he found in his church at Shrivenham, Berkshire—built, as he supposes, about the time of Charles I. when the principal property in the parish was held by Sir Henry Marten, father of the regicide. "It is a plain parallelogram, and had seats to the wall on every side—at the east end as well as elsewhere. The communion-table was a moveable table, standing east and west, under a pillar near the east end. At the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the elements were carried to the communicants, remaining in their pews. With the verbal sanction of Fisher, Bishop of Salisbury, I ventured," writes the Archdeacon, "to move the table to the east end, to remove the seats previously there, to put rails," &c.

countenanced by the rubric, which speaks of the "north *side*," whereas the Scotch Book, drawn up in accordance with the Archbishop's views, has "north *side or end:*"[50]

3. That whereas some of our "ecclesiologists," who in general make much of Laud's authority, are earnest for the abolition of rails, the introduction of this protection was one of his chief measures for the ordering of churches:[51]

4. That if we provoke puritanically-disposed churchmen by introducing unauthorized and unfamiliar ornaments and ceremonies about our altars, they may be able to give us considerable trouble by a reference to the authorities for the position of the table at times of communion.

(*b.*) *The Material.*

It remains to be considered of what material the altar or table ought to be formed.

1559. Among Queen Elizabeth's injunctions is the following, "For tables in the church."—"Whereas her Majesty understandeth, that in many and sundry parts of the realm the altars of the churches be removed, and tables placed for the administration of the holy sacrament, according to the form of [*i. e.* by] the law therefor provided; and in some other places, the altars be not yet removed, upon opinion conceived of some other order therein to be taken by her Majesty's visitors;—in the order whereof, saving for an

[50] Here, and in Sancroft's book, the words *side* and *end* are intended to be understood as synonymous. Heylyn endeavours (Coal, p. 23) to persuade us that the rubric was *originally* so construed; but all evidence of usage is against him. He quotes the Latin Prayer-Book of 1560 as having the expression "septentrionalem *partem*" (Elizab. Liturgies, ed. Park. Soc. p. 383); and it is also cited by Wren (Parent. 75) as proving "that north-*part*, north-*side*, and north-*end* were all one." The real explanation, however, is, that that book was intended exclusively for the use of *colleges*, and in this, as in other points, sanctioned practices which it was not considered safe to set before the people of that time in general. [The idea of construing "north side" as meaning the northern part of the west side had never occurred to the men of the 17th century.]

[51] Altar-rails are sanctioned by the Roman Church, as well as the rails or screens which separate the chancel from the nave. (Schmid. ii. 43.)

uniformity, there seemeth no matter of great moment, so that the sacrament be duly and reverently ministered;—yet for observation of one uniformity through the whole realm, and for the better imitation of the law in that behalf, it is ordered, that no altar be taken down but by oversight of the curate and the churchwardens; and that the holy table in every church be decently made," &c.

As this injunction was contemporaneous with the Book of Elizabeth, it is evident that the rubric of that book, by which the ornaments of 2 Edward VI. were ordered to be retained, cannot be construed as prescribing stone altars, [indeed it seems to be certain that altars were not considered as coming under the denomination of "ornaments"[52]]. And, unless we suppose the injunction self-contradictory, it appears to me that it must be interpreted not only as a prohibition of all tumultuary violence against altars, but as a charge that they should be removed in every church by the proper authorities of the parish.[53]

It is argued by Cosin, in his earliest series of notes,[54]

[52] See Sir H. Jenner-Fust's judgment in the case of the Round Church, Cambridge (Faulkner *v.* Litchfield, reported by Dr. E. P. Robertson). He quotes Durandus—"Ornamenta ecclesiæ in tribus consistunt; *i.e.*, in ornatu ecclesiæ, chori, et altaris"—excluding the altar itself. Rationale, I. iii. 23.

[53] The opposite interpretation (Hierurg. Anglic. p. 42) is in effect as follows—"For the sake of an uniformity throughout the realm, it seemeth good to us that there shall be a diversity; wherefore, in order to the better imitation of the form by law provided for the administration of the holy sacrament (wherein it is supposed that the altars be removed and tables placed in their stead), it is hereby provided that the curate and churchwardens of any parish may, if they shall think fit, suffer the altar to remain still; and that the holy table in every church (as well those wherein the altars shall so remain as others) shall be decently made," &c. I have already had occasion to quote the testimony of Sampson in the following year—"Altaria sunt diremta per totum regnum." (Zur. Letters, No. 27.)

[54] These notes, taken from an interleaved Prayer-Book at Durham, were published by Nicholls, in the appendix to his Commentary, as the work of "a friend or chaplain of Bishop Overall," whom the writer styles his "lord and master." They approach more nearly than the standard Divinity of their time in general to certain peculiarities of the Nonjurors; and much unfair use has been made of them, as if they carried the authority of

that the Elizabethan reformers did not intend to abolish either the name or thing of altars. He tells us that the altars had been retained in the royal chapels, and also in cathedrals, except where puritanical authority prevailed.[55] We find, however, that at St. Paul's, London, all altars were taken down, and a table was substituted for the high altar, by royal commissioners acting on the injunctions of 1559, immediately after these were issued.[56]

Parker inquires in 1569, "Whether you have . . . a comely and decent table for the holy communion, covered decently, and set in place prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions . . . and whether your altars be taken down, according to the commandment in that behalf given?"[57] Such an inquiry, coming from the prelate who in that day was the chief opponent of puritanism, seems decisive as to the intentions of the Elizabethan reformers.

When Harding charges the reformed with resembling the Donatists in their fury against altars, Bishop Jewel replies—"As for the altars, which Optatus saith the Donatists brake down, they were certainly tables of wood, such as we have, and not heaps of stones, such as ye

Overall, and as if, in consequence of his being the supposed author of the last part of the Church Catechism, Overall's authority were that of the Church itself. [In my second edition, I threw out a suggestion that they would probably be found to be the work of Cosin "in his days of less mature judgment;" and this has been since proved to be the case. The editor of Cosin dates them from 1619 (when he was twenty-four years old) to 1638. (Preface, p. xviii.)]

[55] Works, v. 85-6.

[56] Strype, Ann. i. 169. The history of Westminster Abbey is not so clear on this point. Strype says that on April 16, 1561, "were all the altars in the abbey demolished, and so was the altar in the chapel of Henry VII." (Ib. 267.) On the other hand, it is said that a prebendary named Hardiman was deprived in 1567 "for throwing down the altar and defacing the vestments of the church." (Heylyn, Hist. Ref. 288; Wood, Fasti Oxon. i. 110.) The high altar had therefore probably escaped in 1561. The details of Hardiman's case seem to be unknown; his offence probably consisted in acting without authority, and the charge as to the altar (whatever it may have been) was not the only charge against him.

[57] Doc. Ann. i. 321.

have."[58] He goes on to prove that the primitive altars were of wood—a fact, we may observe, which is not contested by the Roman ritualists.[59]

It is ordered in the Advertisements of 1565 "that the parish provide a decent table, standing on a frame, for a communion-table;"[60] and in the canons of 1571 the following charge is given to churchwardens—"Curabunt mensam ex asseribus composite junctam, quae administrationi sacrosanctae communionis inserviat."[61]

The LXXXIIND canon of 1604, which begins—"Whereas we have no doubt, but that in all churches convenient and decent tables are provided"—appears to assume that the material was such as is described in the extract just quoted.

In Bishop Andrewes's articles of 1625 is a remarkable question, probably suggested by his experience of the churchwarden's standard as to such things: "Have you . . a decent table for the communion, *and what is it worth to be prized?* Have you a carpet of silk or other decent stuff . . with a fair linen cloth . . *and what might either of them be worth?*"

1627. Titley, Vicar of Grantham, quarrelling with his parishioners, threatened that "he would build him an altar of stone at his own charge, and fix it in the old altar-place, and would never officiate upon any other;" his bishop, Williams, tells him, and alleges evidence for the opinion, that tables made of stone,[62] and fixed in one place, are against the intention of the Anglican Church.[63]

[58] Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 602; see too i. 98 (already quoted, p. 138), 310-1.

[59] "Communis fert eruditorum opinio, primis ecclesiæ temporibus altaria fuisse lignea." Merati in Gavant. i. 130; cf. Martene, i. 111; Krazer, 158; Pugin, Glossary, 9-10.

[60] Doc. Ann. i. 292.

[61] Synodal. 123. [The authors of the 'Directorium Anglicanum,' not content with saying that these canons were "never in force" (which is in so far true that they were never confirmed by parliament or by the crown, although it is certain that they were practically enforced and obeyed at the time), propound the gloss that "these *asseres* might be of any material, iron, stone, zinc, as well as of wood" (!) p. 6.]

[62] Works, xi. 127.

[63] Holy Table, 6, 13-19, &c. As to another case in the same diocese, see Laud, v. 342.

The VIIIth canon of 1640, in giving orders for placing the communion-table at the east end of churches, declares that, "at the time of reforming this Church from that gross superstition of popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people both the inclination thereunto and memory thereof; especially of the idolatry committed in the mass, for which cause all popish altars were demolished."[64]

From these passages it would seem, that the authority of our Church is, in its apparent meaning, adverse to the use of stone altars. If the demolition of altars in the sixteenth century was but partial,[65] we have, it must be remembered, to concern ourselves with the orders which were then given, not with the degree in which they were executed; and in later documents, such as the canons of 1604 and 1640, it is assumed that the substitution of tables had been universal. The rubric and all other rules which suppose the table to be moveable, suppose, as a necessary consequence, that it is not a ponderous structure of stone;[66] and while the mere

[64] Synodal. 404.

[65] This is an opinion of Mr. Bloxam (Camb. Camd. Soc. Transactions) and of Mr. Markland (on English Churches, 3rd ed. p. 27)—chiefly grounded on the fact that orders for the destruction of altars are found in the time of puritan ascendancy. It must be remembered how very untrustworthy puritan testimony is on such subjects; how gladly Laud's enemies would exaggerate a few instances into a multitude; and that in some cases there may have been, first, a demolition under Elizabeth, and subsequently, a reconstruction by some of those who, in Hackett's phrase, "did outrun" Laud. Arundel is spoken of as the only place in which an ancient *high*-altar has been discovered at this day ["in a perfect state," and there it was until lately cased in wood. St. Mary Magdalene's, at Ripon (Gloss. Archit. ed. 5, p. 15), and four other churches, mentioned by the Rev. F. W. Collison in a pamphlet on the subject (1844, p. 14), are also said to retain their high altars]. Montagu inquires, "Is your communion-table, or altar, of stone, wainscot, joiner's work, strong, fair and decent?" (p. 50.)

[66] [In the case of the Round Church at Cambridge, however (1844-5), the advocate of the stone altar in one of the courts insulted the common sense of the judge by asserting that the altar in question—a structure weighing a ton and three quarters, having its foundations embedded in concrete some inches below the paving of the chancel, and its back fixed to the east wall

name of *table* is not enough to determine the material, it is clear that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was intended and understood, with reference to this subject, to denote a table of wood.[67] The injunction of 1559 expressly declares the matter indifferent in itself, and disavows any religious objection. The canon of 1640 declares the rooting out of Romish notions to have been the only cause of the demolition in the preceding century, and the altars were allowed to remain "in Kings' and Bishops' houses, where are no people so void of understanding as to be scandalized."[68]

Hence it might be reasonably argued that, if the old dangers no longer existed—if no peculiarity of opinion were connected with the form of an altar, or with the use of stone as the material—these things might be justified even by the principles of the injunction and of the canon which in former times condemned them. [But although such considerations may suffice to protect some altars which were set up in the early part of this century,[69] they are no longer applicable since the questions as to the form and the material have become a subject of controversy and litigation. The trials which have taken place as to the Round Church at Cambridge (Faulkner *v.* Litchfield), and the Churches of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, Knightsbridge (Westerton and Beale *v.* Liddell), have resulted in decisions by which it is ruled that the communion-table must be of wood, and moveable.]

—fulfilled this condition, because it could be removed by suitable machinery! Robertson's Report, pp. 6, 15-6.]

[67] Thus Fulke says—"In King Henry the Eighth's time, when that (the earliest English) translation was first printed, there was never a communion-table in any church in England." (Def. of Translations of the Bible, p. 518, ed. Park. Soc.)

[68] Williams, Holy Table, 16.

[69] Such as those erected in Westminster Abbey under Dean Ireland, and at Cheltenham, during the incumbency of Mr. Close [now Dean of Carlisle].

XIII.

The Place for Reading the "Second Service."

There have been disputes as to the place for reading that part of the communion-office which is appointed to be used when there is no administration of the sacrament, and which (as convenience requires the employment of some shorter designation), I shall, according to the custom of the seventeenth century, speak of as the "Second Service."

The bishops of Charles the First's time ordered that it should be read at the holy table, and were charged with innovation in consequence.[1] In answer to such charges Wren brings forward aged clergymen, to witness that such was the practice in their youth "in many parochial churches," as well as in cathedrals and the chapels royal;[2] Laud says, "Since my own memory, this was in use in very many places, as being most proper, and by little and little this ancient custom was altered; and in those places first, where the emissaries of this faction [the puritans] came to preach."[3] The objections of Cartwright,[4] and the answers by which Whitgift and Hooker meet them, corroborate the statements of Laud and Wren with respect to the practice of Elizabeth's reign, but at the same time show that (as would indeed appear from those statements themselves) even in that time there were differences of observance. Archbishop Williams, in referring to Hooker's testimony that the portions in question of the communion-office were "*commonly* read at the table of the Lord," remarks that he

[1] Laud, v. 478 (for Winchester Cathedral); Cardw. Conf. 272; Prynne, Cant. Doom, 493. [2] Parentalia, 79. [3] Three Speeches, 374.

[4] "After morning prayer, for saying another number of prayers he climbeth up to the further end of the chancel, and runneth as far from the people as the wall will let him," &c. (Ap. Whitg. ii. 461.)

does not speak of them as *always* read in that place.[5] And Whitgift treats the matter, in common with the place for morning and evening prayer, as belonging to the discretion of the ordinary.[6]

In favour of the usage may be pleaded those rubrics which speak of the Lord's table in connexion with parts of the communion-office which are read in the Second Service; and there is certainly no ground for finding fault with the observance of it, unless, as may happen in some churches, it render the service inaudible. It is not, however, as appears to me, the only allowable practice.

In the rubric at the end of the office, by which it is directed that certain parts of the service "shall be said if there be no communion," the Liturgy of 1549 enjoined that the priest should "put on him a plain albe or surplice, with a cope," and say this service "at the altar."[7] To this Bucer objected by asking why, when the other service was to be read elsewhere, and in simpler attire, the clergy should be required, "istam dimidiatam missam dicere vestibus omnino missalibus, et ad Domini mensam."[8] The alteration of the rubric in later books is probably to be traced to Bucer's objection, so that the omission of any special order as to place would seem to have been intended as a relaxation of the former rule.

The puritans, however, were not content to leave the matter open, but insisted on a condemnation of the older practice; and in accordance with this, Middleton, bishop of St. David's, orders in 1583, "That there be no recourse by the minister to the communion-table, to say any part of service there, saving only when there is a communion to be ministered."[9]

The rubric which directs that the priest shall say the opening prayers "standing at the north side of the table," is interpreted by Laud to mean, that whenever he reads

[5] Eccl. Pol. v. 30, 2-4; Holy Table, p. 176. [6] Works, ii. 461.
[7] Keeling, 229. [8] Scripta Angl. 459. [9] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 426.

these prayers, he must stand there, although there be no communion.[10] This rubric, however, plainly refers in strictness to times when the table is prepared for a celebration;[11] and the change which has just been mentioned appears to shew that it and the other rubrics which suppose the priest to be at the altar are not necessarily to be extended to all times when a part of the office is used;—an inference which is strengthened by the fact, that this rubric and the omission of a special direction for the place of second service date alike from the Liturgy of 1552.[12] From the order in the LXXXIIIrd canon of 1604, that the table shall stand in the east, "saving when the holy communion is to be administered; at which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby *the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration*," it is evident that the framers of the canons did not contemplate the minister's officiating at the table except on occasions of actual communion; and, as we have already had reason to know, the practice of that age, until Laud attempted to introduce a change, was that the second service should be read from the desk.

Williams gave order that at Grantham the table should be removed from its eastern position, "when it is used, either in the time of the communion, or when the vicar shall be pleased to read the later part of the Divine service thereupon,"[13] and this order appears to be consistent with the intention of the canons.

L'Estrange is of opinion that "the bishops lately enjoining the service to be said at the holy table, or in the chancel, did not innovate, but held to the rubric, and that the officiating in the desk was a swerving from the rule, unless where it was able to show episcopal dispensation

[10] Three Speeches, 375. [11] L'Estrange, 212.

[12] The interpretation here proposed derives countenance from other rubrics of the Communion-office. See chap. xvi. § *c*. [13] Holy Table, p. 10.

expressly to warrant it."[14] His reasoning, however, seems by no means conclusive.

After the Restoration, the Presbyterians desire, "that the minister be not required to rehearse any part of the liturgy at the communion-table, save only those parts which properly belong to the Lord's supper; and that at such times only when the said holy supper is administered."[15] The bishops answer, after alleging primitive custom—"The priest standing at the communion-table seemeth to give us an invitation to the holy sacrament, and minds us of our duty, viz. to receive the holy communion, some at least every Sunday; and though we neglect our duty, it is fit the Church should keep her standing."[16] But these passages of the conference are less conclusive than they may at first sight appear. In fact, the presbyterians pray that the orders of Archbishop Laud's time as to this point be not enforced; the bishops justify these; but at the revision of the Liturgy which followed, the rubric was not made imperative, and it is not to be supposed that we are bound by the words of the conference where the Prayer-Book and canons leave us at liberty. The presbyterians, in reporting the bishops' answer, conclude their rejoinder on this head—"Moreover, there is no rubric requiring this service at the table."[17]

My own feelings are strongly in favour of going to the altar at all times; but I have thought it well to call atten-

[14] p. 72; cf. 212.

[15] Cardw. Conf. 307.

[16] Ib. 342. Among propositions sent by the York convocation to that of Canterbury during the review of the Liturgy in 1661, was this—"Were it not expedient that . . . the second service should be said at the communion-table, at least in the cathedrals?" (Wilkins' Concil. iv. 569.) The reason alleged in the text is also given by Gunning—one of the most prominent among the episcopal Divines at the Conference—in his articles of inquiry, 1679. (Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 646.)

[17] Grand Debate, Lond. 1661, p. 79. There is a foolish pamphlet of twelve pages—"Parish Churches turned into Conventicles . . . by reading the Communion Service, or any part thereof, in the Desk"—by R. Hart, Lond. 1683.

tion to the true state of the case, as one among many proofs how little ground there really is for the assumptions of some persons who talk very confidently as if all authority were unquestionably with them.

The place in which the epistle and gospel are to be read will be considered in a later section (ch. xvii.; § *b*).

XIV.

Prayer before Sermon.

Rubric:—"Then shall follow the Sermon, or one of the Homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be set forth, by authority."

Canon lv. "Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer, in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may:—'Ye shall pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church,' &c. . . . always concluding with the Lord's Prayer."

The canon is here by some persons taken to be supplementary to the rubric, while others think that it relates to sermons delivered without the previous reading of service, *e. g.* those in the University churches.[1]

In answer to this latter opinion, it may be observed that the canon not only speaks of "*all* sermons," but adds "and *homilies*"—a name designating a class of discourses which we may be sure were never read except after prayers. The distinction between (extraordinary) "preachers" and (ordinary) "ministers" tends also to prove that the canon applies to sermons introduced in the regular service, as well as to others. Moreover, the form which it prescribes

[1] See, *e.g.*, Quart. Rev. Jan. 1834, p. 533; Brit. Mag. iii. 182, 687.

may be regarded as an appendage of the sermon, and in that character is no more forbidden than the practices, equally unmentioned in the rubric, of giving out a text, and concluding with a doxology. And, not to argue further, all the authorities that have fallen in my way are for the minister's saying *something*, and concluding with the Lord's Prayer, which the canon requires.

But another question remains:—Are we bound to use the form appointed by the canons, or one resembling it? What is to be said of the practice by which "the clergyman commences with a prayer, sometimes from the Liturgy, with or without alterations, sometimes an extemporary effusion of his own?"[2]

In our inquiries as to this point we shall be much assisted by Heylyn's tract, drawn up for the information of Curle, bishop of Winchester, about 1637, and by one published by Wheatley on an occasion to be noticed hereafter.[3] Something is also to be learnt from Bishop Fleetwood,[4] and from Mr. Coxe's 'Forms of Bidding Prayer.'

In order to prepare the reader for understanding what is to be brought forward, I shall here anticipate one of my conclusions, viz. that the form was partly enjoined by way of a test, and for purposes which may be generally described as political.

It appears, then, that before the Reformation, "bidding the bedes" was used in connexion with sermons. The preacher, in an English form, desired the prayers of the people, who afterwards prayed in silence;[5] and of the political use of such prayers we have a remarkable instance in the reign of Henry II., when it is noted that Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London, inserted or omitted in his prayers the

[2] Gresley, 'Bernard Leslie,' 217, Lond. 1842.

[3] 'Bidding of Prayers before Sermon no mark of disaffection to the present Government,' Lond. 1718. [The subject of this section is very fully discussed by Archdeacon Harrison, pp. 229, *seqq.*]

[4] Works, folio, 737, *seqq.*

[5] Burnet, H. R. ii. 30; Collier, Records, No. 54.

names of Archbishop Becket and of the princes, according as they were in harmony or at variance with the king.[6]

1534. On the rupture with Rome, Henry VIII. put forth a form of bidding, in which he required himself to be named as "immediately next under God, the only supreme head of this Catholic Church of England;" that Anne should be prayed for as Queen, and Elizabeth as heir.[7] "The next preaching after [at Wingham, 1535] came a doctor of the monks of Canterbury, there praying for the king, but named him not Head of the Church."[8] In the form intended for Ireland[9] is embodied what may be termed a discourse on the question of the supremacy.

1547. The form in King Edward's injunctions[10] had the same title of "supreme head." Cranmer inquires accordingly as to naming the King in prayers, and declaring his supremacy.[11]

1554. An order is sent to Cambridge, "That every preacher there should declare the whole style and title of the King and Queen [Philip and Mary] in their sermons."[12]

1559. Elizabeth's injunctions[13] prescribe "The form of bidding prayers, to be used generally after this uniform sort." The Queen is styled, "Defender of the Faith, and supreme governor[14] of this realm, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal." From the addition, "And this done,

[6] Fitzstephen, Vita S. Thomæ Cant., in Migne, Patrol. Lat. cxc. 153.

[7] Wilkins, iii. 783; Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 460.

[8] Cranm. ii. 302. [9] Collier, Records, 40. [10] Doc. Ann. i. 21.

[11] Ib. 42. [12] Fox, iii. 88. [13] Doc. Ann. i. 202-3.

[14] Jewel, 'View of a Seditious Bull,' p. 14—"Where is she ever called the supreme head? Peruse the acts of parliament, the records, the rolls, and the writs of chancery or exchequer, which pass in her Grace's name; where is she ever called the supreme head of the Church? No, no, brethren; she refuseth it, she would not have it, nor be so called. Why then doth Christ's vicar blaze and spread abroad so gross untruth? why should he say Queen Elizabeth maketh herself the head of the Church?" The Bishop then goes on to define the supremacy, as understood in his days. Comp. Hooker, E. P. viii. 4.

shew the holy-days and fasting-days," Heylyn[15] and Wheatley conclude that the bidding was then used at the *end* of the sermon, *after* which it was that the declaration of days was ordered by the rubric.

Cartwright, the famous puritan, is said by Bishop Wren, on the authority of Andrewes and others, to have been the first who changed the bidding into a direct invocation.[16] This would seem to have been the extent of his innovation, as Bishop Wetenhall[17] states, on the authority of one who remembered him, that "he did not pray by gift" (*i.e.* without a precomposed form). A direct prayer in the end of the sermon, *besides* the bidding, had before been customary.[18]

1588. Whitgift inquires, "Whether the ministers used to pray for the Queen's Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, by the title and style due to her Majesty, appointed by the statutes of this realm and her Highness's injunctions, and exhort the people to obedience to her Highness, and other magistrates, being in authority under her."[19] The political character is very apparent in this inquiry.

Bacon speaks of harsh proceedings against puritans on account of their "praying for her Majesty without the additions of her style."[20]

1604. James I. at the Hampton Court conference notices ome puritanical irregularities.[21] "Some preachers before me can be content to pray for *James, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith*, but as for *supreme governor in all causes and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil*, they pass that over with silence; and what cut they have been of, I after learned." On this the

[15] Tracts, p. 158.

[16] Parentalia, 90. There are curious passages as to Cartwright's practice in Whitgift, ii. 490. See Haweis, Sketches of the Reformation, 124-5.

[17] 'Of Gifts and Offices in the public Worship of God,' 1679, p. 152.

[18] Cranmer, ed. Jenkyns, i. 273; R. Hutchinson's Works, ed. Parker Soc. &c.

[19] Doc. Ann. ii. 14.

[20] 'Of Church Controversies,' Works, ed. 1819, ii. 517.

[21] Card. Conf. 203.

LVth canon was enacted, by which the King's title and jurisdiction are prescribed to be named in the bidding.

Archbishop Bancroft inquires accordingly at Wells cathedral, 1605, whether "his whole style" be given to the King.[22]

In 1619, James had again remarked that preachers even in his own presence omitted mention of his style, and of the governors of the Church; in consequence of which Archbishop Abbot orders the general observance of the canon.[23]

Hilliard, who wrote a century later,[24] accounts for the prevalence of direct prayer or invocation among the clergy of this time by supposing that they wished to confute the puritan censures, which represented them as "ungifted." At all events, it became so general, that we find prayers at sermon in the works of divines so little inclined to the popular side as Donne, Herbert, and Bishop Taylor, while the canonical practice seems to have been forsaken by all but some "ancient doctors,"[25] so that the enforcement of it was charged on Laud as a novelty, not only by the ignorant multitude but by the committee of 1641.[26]

There was certainly great reason for a recourse to some measures of restraint at the time when the Archbishop revived the canon.[27] It was the fashion of the popular preachers not to enter the church until the prayers appointed in the Book were ended:[28] and, as is stated in the vth canon of 1640, the puritanical laity adopted the same manner of showing their contempt for the Liturgy. The preachers then mounted the pulpit, and performed a service answering to that of the Scotch presbyterians at this day;

[22] Wilkins, iv. 416; cf. Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 450. [23] Doc. Ann. ii. 133.

[24] 'The Obligation of the Clergy to keep strictly to the bidding Form of Prayer.' Lond. 1715, p. 18.

[25] Heylyn, Tracts, 152. [26] Ib. and Cardw. Conf. 273.

[27] See Laud, v. 187, 399; Cosin, ii. 15; Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 518, 531, 559, &c., for inquiries on this point.

[28] See Cardw. Conf. 191; Bancroft, Dangerous Positions, iii. 12.

a service composed of a very long sermon, with long discursive prayers before and after it, and some intermixture of psalmody. These preachers were usually disaffected to the monarchy and the Church alike; and, lest they should be called to an account if they vented their notions in sermons, they made it their "fashion to turn the libellous part into a prayer."[29]

1636. Bishop Wren enjoins the canonical form, *mutatis mutandis*, but with no other variation, except, if the preacher wish, "the name of the two universities, and of a patron;[30] and no prayer to be used in the pulpit after sermon; but the sermon to be concluded with 'Glory be to the Father,' &c., and so come down from the pulpit."[31] This limitation to the very form of the canon is stricter than the canon itself.

1640. In the convocation, "a short prayer, comprehending the matter of the canon, was drawn up; this form, it was said, would have been well received by those who scrupled the direction of the canon; but the Archbishop thought it better to keep close to the old rule than run the risk of a new experiment, and thus the motion was dropped without going further."[32]

After the Restoration, the bishops "pronounce the offices in the Common Prayer [which had not yet been revised] altogether unexceptionable, and conceive the Book cannot be too strictly enjoined, especially when ministers are not denied the exercise of their gifts in praying before and after sermon; which liberty for extemporary or private

[29] Laud, Autob. Sept. 1, 1637; Troubles, p. 383. "They shall come into the church when [the Common Prayer] is done, and, stepping up into pulpit (with great gravity, no doubt) shall conceive a long, crude, extemporary prayer, in reproach of all the prayers which the Church, with such admirable prudence and devotion, had been making before." South, iv. 179 (ed. 1823).

[30] Pepys, Dec. 23, 1666. "To church, where a vain fellow with a periwigg preached; chaplain, as by his prayer appeared, to the Earl of Carlisle." [31] Doc. Ann. ii. 201. [32] Collier, ii. 793.

compositions stands only upon a late custom, without any foundation from law or canons; and that the common use of this practice comes only from connivance."[33] In their answer to the presbyterian exceptions, at a later time, they say, "We heartily desire that great care may be taken to suppress those private conceptions of prayers before and after sermon, lest private opinions be made the matter of prayer in public, as hath and will be, if private persons take liberty to make public prayers."[34] "The mischiefs that come by idle, impertinent, ridiculous, sometimes seditious, impious, and blasphemous expressions, under pretence of the gift, to the dishonour of God and scorn of religion, being far greater than the pretended good of exercising the gift, it is fit that they who desire such liberty in public devotions should first give to the Church security that no private opinions should be put into their prayers; to prevent which mischief the former ages knew no better way, than to forbid any prayers in public, but such as were prescribed by public authority."[35] In all these discussions the authority of the canon was assumed; the only question was, how far deviations from the strict form of it might be allowable.

1661. The convocation passed a vote "pro unica forma precum tam ante quam post sermonem sive orationem praedicatam usitanda et observanda;" but nothing came of this.[36]

Bishop Wren, 1662, and Bishop Gunning, 1670, inquire particularly as to *brevity*.[37] This, let it be remarked, is required by the canon; and the practice of puritans made it necessary that the observance of the rule should be looked to. Archdeacon Pory, 1662, treats the lecturers as still a suspicious class, and asks whether the canon be observed.

1664. In a conference of the Parliament-houses, the

[33] Collier, ii. 873; Calamy's Life of Baxter, i. 144.
[34] Cardw. Conf. 337.
[35] Ib. 341.
[36] Synod. 656.
[37] Wheatley, p. 59.

Commons mention "praying extempore before and after sermon" as one among things which "may be said to be the practice of the Church," yet "were never established by any law, either common, statute, or canon."[38]

1689. Among customary things for which the express sanction of the commissioners appointed to revise the Liturgy is desired, we find "the liberty taken in the prayer before sermons," and "a short prayer of the minister's own composing after sermons."[39]

1695. Archbishop Tenison writes to the bishops of his province—"It seems very fit that you require your clergy in their prayer before sermon to keep to the effect of the canon; it being commonly reported that some clergymen use only the Lord's Prayer, or at least leave out the king's titles, and forbear to pray for the bishops as such."[40] This order appears to allow the use of direct prayer, instead of the bidding.

1714. George I. desires the bishops, because some preachers use the Lord's Prayer alone, or with a collect, or at least leave out the royal titles, to see that their clergy "keep strictly to the form in the canon contained, or to the full effect thereof."[41]

From these passages it appears very clearly what was the object in enforcing such forms:—viz. to secure from preachers a full and distinct recognition of the existing

[38] Pepys, Diary, May 13.

[39] Cardw. Conf. 453.

[40] Doc. Ann. ii. 335.

[41] Ib. 360. On this arose a strange instance of popular suspicion. Many preachers still kept to invocation; while those who obeyed the King's orders—although the very object of these was to exact a pledge for the loyalty of the clergy—were commonly charged with disaffection; because (it was said) they bid the people pray for King George without praying for him themselves! Wheatley, Hilliard, and others, hereupon published pamphlets on the history of the form, while Bp. Fleetwood advised that the clergy should say "Let us pray" instead of "Ye shall pray." Wheatley had previously used an invocation, in which he prayed for the sovereign by name. The absurdly founded charge of disaffection appears from Sharp (p. 193) to have continued thirty years later against those who obeyed the canon.

sovereign's right, in opposition to other claimants; of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, in opposition, first to the papacy, and afterwards to the "presbyterian Hildebrandism"[42] of the puritans; of the episcopal polity, which puritans denied; and perhaps, at last, of the line of bishops who took the oaths to the Revolution government, in opposition to the nonjurors. The other matter of the bidding is included, as many have observed, in the prayers of our Liturgy, and especially in that "for the whole state of Christ's Church;" but as the enumeration of titles would not agree with the proprieties of prayer,[43] they are thrown into this form of bidding.

The reasons for which the form was enforced, then, cannot be said to have any existence among us at this day. Even if some of the clergy indulge in an "exercise of gifts" which is not commendable, it is not to be supposed that their prayers resemble those which Laud contended against, either in extravagance of length, or in the mischievous character of their matter: nor do any of our popular preachers now avowedly disparage or despise the Liturgy. According, therefore, to the principle laid down by Bishop Taylor, that "a law made for a particular reason, when the reason wholly ceases, does no longer oblige the conscience,"[44] the observation of the canon appears to be now unnecessary.

The use of privately-composed prayers is objectionable on many grounds; and the practice of some, who spoil a collect by alterations of their own, changing the tone of the prayer and the character and flow of its language, although not so dangerous, is perhaps at least as offensive. I do not, however, see anything inadmissible in the use of a

[42] This expression is used by Mr. Hallam (Const. Hist. ii. 461) to characterize the spirit of Dr. M'Crie's writings.

[43] Bishop Pearson, however, gives them fully in his Latin prayers (Minor Works, ii. 3), and Bp. Fleetwood maintains that "it is no more impertinent to recognise them in a formal prayer than in bidding of prayer," 754.

[44] Works, xiv. 242.

collect as we find it. The objections made by the bishops in Charles the Second's time against extemporal and privately-composed prayers, do not hold against the employment in this place of words which have been provided by the Church for use in some part of her service.

There is, however, an objection, advanced by Heylyn,[45] and now often repeated with great solemnity—that the pulpit is not the place of prayer. If such reasoning were fully carried out, it must be wrong to say the Lord's Prayer[46] in the pulpit; which, however, the canon prescribes; nor can I see any difference, in so far as this objection is concerned, between a long bidding followed by the Lord's Prayer, and a bidding in the three syllables "Let us pray," followed by a collect as well as by that Divine form. Bishop Cosin observes on the words "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's church," &c., in the communion-office—"The bidding of the common prayers, appointed before all sermons in the injunctions and canons, is nothing else but this allocution to the people, extended to particulars."[47] Nor has the fancy that prayer and the attitude of kneeling are inadmissible in the pulpit any countenance from the Church of the middle ages or from the modern Church of Rome.[48] Moreover the convocation

[45] Tracts, 158-9.

[46] A correspondent of the British Magazine for March, 1840, has a very singular fancy on this point. "The only form allowable [in the pulpit] is the bidding prayer, which is nothing more than a sort of rubric setting forth the order and subject matter of the prayers in the church. And hence the Lord's Prayer itself is not, strictly speaking, *prayed*, but only repeated as part of the catalogue, so to say, of prayers proper [!]. The custom of kneeling in the pulpit is, I conceive, not a correct one. I should no more think of kneeling *there*, than I should when the prayer comes in the lesson where the blessed gift of it is recorded." (293.) Although I cannot agree with this writer as to the Lord's Prayer before sermons, it seems to me clearly wrong to stand up, as some congregations do, when it is read in a lesson.

[47] Works, v. 467.

[48] In Gavanti Thes. Sacrorum Rituum, i. 200, are these directions for the preacher—"Postquam concionator suggestum ascenderit, jungit manus

of 1662, in passing its order for the composition of a prayer, doubtless intended an invocation to be used in the pulpit. And among individual divines of repute, may be named—Taylor, who used invocation, and prescribes a prayer of this kind in his Offices;[49] Hammond, who thought it allowable, though not ordered;[50] Pearson;[51] Hooker, against whom Travers objected kneeling (apparently in the pulpit), and whose judgment as to the importance of matters which many now consider so vital was, that "to note them he should have thought a greater offence than to commit, if he did account them faults, and had heard them so curiously observed in any other than himself, they are such silly things."[52] Kettlewell also used prayers, and those of his own composition.[53]

L'Estrange[54] and Bingham[55] give ancient examples of prayers for a blessing on sermons,[56] and we find the like in some of the specimens collected by Heylyn, Wheatley, and others out of sermons preached by eminent men in times near the Reformation. There is a great variety in these specimens, of bidding and prayer, of form, matter, and place in the sermon.

. . . et statim ad altare genuflexus, clara voce dicit salutationem angelicam; qua completa surgit." . . . So a council held at Edinburgh, 1549 (before the Reformation of Scotland), orders—"In omnium concionum publicarum exordio, servetur vetus et receptus invocandi modus, per orationem Dominicam, cum salutatione angelica ad virginem Deiparam, pro gratia impetranda; et in earundem concionum fine oretur pro animabus defunctorum, in recepta ecclesiæ consuetudine." (Wilkins, Conc. iv. 58; cf. Burnet, Hist. Ref. ii. 30; Cærim. Episcop. i. 22.) In Southern Germany it is usual for preachers first to open the subject of the sermon, then to kneel and in silence say the Lord's Prayer and the angelical salutation. (Schmid, ii. 149.)

[49] v. 15*; xv. 265. [50] i. 380. [51] See above, p. 164.
[52] Vol. iii. p. 712. [53] Life, App. p. xxxiv. [54] p. 173.
[55] xiv. 4, 13.
[56] Comp. Thorndike, Of Religious Assemblies, c. vii. § 31.

XV.

The Eucharistic Elements.

(*a.*) *The Bread.*

There was formerly much contention about the quality of the bread to be used at communion. The Book of 1549 ordered that it should be unleavened, as before, but somewhat different in form. The rubric of 1552 agrees with that of our present Book, in which it is said, that

> "To take away all occasion of dissension and superstition which any person hath or might have concerning the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten; but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten."

In Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, 1559, it is ordered that the bread be "common fine bread, of the same fineness and fashion round as the usual bread and water, heretofore named singing-cakes,[1] which served for the use of the private mass."[2] When some persons attempted to represent this as contrary to the rubric, Archbishop Parker —declaring the matter indifferent, and that he wished only for peace and uniformity—wrote as follows:—"*It shall suffice*,[3] I expound, where either there wanteth such fine[4]

[1] This seems to have been a term used to denote wafers in general; thus we find in a tract of 1590—"the letters finished and sealed up with *singing-cake*." (Harl. Misc. 8vo. ed. ii. 171.)

[2] Doc. Ann. i. 202.

[3] Compare the office for Baptism. "He shall dip it in the water. . . . But if they certify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon it."

[4] [In Parker's Correspondence, edited by Mr. Bruce (p. 376), the reading is "such fine usual bread," and the editor informs me that this is according to the manuscript. Yet surely an error must have crept in, as the word "usual" makes nonsense. I have therefore followed Strype (Parker, 310) in reading "such fine bread"—*i.e.* of the kind ordered by the injunctions.]

bread, or superstition be feared in the wafer-bread, they may have the communion in usual bread; which is rather a toleration in these two necessities than a plain ordering, as in the injunction." In the interpretations issued by the bishops it is directed "That the communion bread be thicker and broader than it is now commonly used."[5] Indifferent as Parker believed the question to be in itself, he exerted himself to enforce the use of unleavened bread as a point of discipline. He makes frequent inquiries about it in his articles;[6] and in answer to those who asserted that the rubric, as having been confirmed by statute, was of higher authority than the injunction, he maintained that the injunctions also had the force of a statute, as having been issued under that clause of the act of uniformity by which the Queen was authorized, with advice of her commissioners or of the metropolitan, to make further orders.[7] In the mean time, the use of wafer-bread was a subject of unceasing complaint with the puritans;[8] and their foreign correspondents, while they state that they themselves used the unleavened bread without scruple, encouraged the English malcontents in objecting to it.[9] The antagonism became so strong that in 1566, when Parker sent some of his chaplains "to serve in the greatest parishes," they were mostly unable to do anything beyond preaching, "for lack of surplice and wafer-bread;" and in one place, when the chaplain was reading the gospel in the communion-office, "one man of the parish drew from the table both cup and the wafer-bread, because the bread was not common; and so the minister derided, and the people disappointed."[10]

When Archbishop Grindal urged the practice of Geneva[11]

[5] Doc. Ann. i. 206.

[6] *e.g.* Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 403, 416; Cardw. Doc. Ann. i. 321.

[7] Parker, Corresp. 375-6; cf. 457, 460, &c.

[8] *e.g.* Zur. Letters, ii. 71*, 95*, &c.; Admonitions quoted by Whitgift, iii. 82, &c.

[9] *e.g.* Ib. 24*, 79*; Phœnix, ii. 196.

[10] Parker, Corresp. 277.

[11] See Hooker, i. 163, 569.

in favour of the wafer, the puritans replied, that although wafer-bread was used in the parish-churches at Geneva, yet the English congregation there "did minister with loaf-bread."[12]

Whitgift writes, in answer to the 'Admonition to Parliament': "The truth is, that it skills not what kind of bread is used, leavened or unleavened, so that it be bread; although it were to be wished, for the avoiding of superstition, that common and usual bread were used, and also that the form were altered, and the quantity increased."[13]

1580. The Lords of the Council write to Chaderton, Bishop of Lichfield, that, whereas wafers and common bread are variously used in his diocese, each parish shall for the present be allowed to retain its own practice, and that those who are weak in conscience shall be charitably tolerated, "as children, with milk."[14]

We find from Hooker that wafer-bread was used in the last years of Elizabeth's reign;[15] but it would seem that this custom, like some others which had until then been followed, shortly after wore out. Thus the observance of it is noted as a singularity in Burton, the author of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' who was born in 1576, and died in 1640.[16]

Archbishop Bancroft inquires, 1605, whether "fine white bread" be provided.

Bishop Andrewes used and prescribes wafer-bread;[17] it is ordered, too, in the rules for Prince Charles' chapel at Madrid.

The Scotch Liturgy is in accordance with Parker's interpretation of our rubric—"Though it be lawful to have wafer-bread, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual."

We have the testimony of Cosin that the use of the wafer

[12] Strype, Grindal, 117.
[13] Works, iii. 84.
[14] Peck, Desid. Curiosa, vol. i. b. iii. pp. 16, 19.
[15] iv. 6, 1.
[16] See ed. 1827, vol. i. p. xvi.
[17] Works, xi. 153.

"was continued in divers churches of the kingdom, and Westminster for one, till the seventeenth of King Charles."[18]

Archbishop Laud (who was born in 1573 and was ordained to the priesthood in 1601) declares—"I never either gave or received the communion, but in ordinary bread. At Westminster I know [wafer-bread] was sometimes used, but as a thing indifferent."[19]

In Sancroft's book it is suggested that the rubric should be thus altered—"The bread shall be such as is usual, yet the best and purest that conveniently may be gotten; though wafer-bread, pure and without any figure upon it, shall not be forbidden, especially in such churches where it hath been accustomed."[20]

It was not, according to many eminent authorities of the Roman Church itself, until about the eleventh century that the use of unleavened bread was introduced.[21] And even the council of Trent teaches—"Potest eucharistia et in fermentato pane confici."[22]

(*b.*) *The Wine.*

The mixture of water with the wine is a primitive usage, and was insisted on as essential by some of the nonjurors[23]—not, however, until after they had left the public communion on other accounts. It is ordered in the Book of 1549. Bishop Andrewes in his Answer to Cardinal Perron, treats it as a matter of indifference;[24] he himself

[18] Works, v. 481.

[19] Troubles, 342.

[20] Bulley's Variations of the Communion, &c., Offices, 220.

[21] Catech. ii. 4. 15.

[22] See Bingham, xv. 2, 5; Schmid, i. 406-8; and Martene, i. 114-116—who, however, is himself of a different opinion. Krazer supposes the practice to have been indifferent in early times, 119-126.

[23] Sir W. Palmer says—"Having devoted great attention to the study of the ancient Liturgies, I was perfectly satisfied that the nonjuring writers (such as Johnson, &c.), were by no means qualified by the amount of their information to form a sound judgment on such points." 'Narrative of Events connected with the Tracts for the Times' (ed. 1, p. 24).

[24] Works, xi. 25.

practised it at the chapel-royal and elsewhere—as at the consecration of Jesus Chapel.[25] It is also set down among the things to be observed in the chapel at Madrid.

Cosin writes, in his earliest series of Notes—"Our Church forbids it not, for ought I know, and they that think fit may use it, as some most eminent among us do at this day; yet for the approbation of our most common practice, which is to consecrate wine alone, without water, we have all this on our side; the Greeks did it, &c."[26]

The nonjuror Brett states that Laud, when minister of All-Hallows, Barking, introduced the practice into the church of that parish, where it continued to be observed in the last century."[27] But in truth Laud never held the parish of All-Hallows,[28] and there is great reason to doubt whether in respect of the mixture he followed the example of Andrewes, whom he usually regarded as his model.[29]

[The mixture of the cup was condemned by the judgment of Sir R. Phillimore in the Court of Arches (Martin *v.* Mackonochie, 1868).[30]]

[25] Sparrow, Rationale, 416.

[26] Works, v. 154.

[27] Brett on the Liturgies, ed. 1838, p. 404.

[28] Hierurg. Angl. 391.

[29] See Mr. Crosthwaite in Brit. Mag. xxxi. 616.

[30] The Roman Missal (de Defectibus, iv. 7) pronounces that water "non est de necessitate sacramenti;" and in the Tridentine Catechism (ii. 4. 17) we read—"Quamvis aquæ admiscendæ ita graves rationes sint, ut eam sine mortali peccato prætermittere non liceat, ea tamen si desit, sacramentum constare potest." The Sarum Missal (fol. cxxxiv.), in ordering that the quantity of water be not excessive, has these words—"Apponitur aqua solum ad significandum, sed una gutta tantum significat quantum mille." Jewel (Works, i. 139), and Cosin, in his first series of notes (p. 154), quote and refer to passages of Durandus, Scotus, Aquinas, and others, to the same effect. (See a learned note in St. Cyprian's Epistles, Oxford transl. 189.) Bishop Montagu prescribes that the wine be red, because it "should resemble blood" (Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 580); but Schmid (i. 413) says, that the colour is a matter of indifference, and that in his country (Southern Germany) white wine is generally used; [which, according to the 'Directorium Anglicanum' (p. 242), is also the custom at the German chapel, St. James's].

XVI.

The Offertory.

Under this head I shall consider—1. The collection of money; 2. The placing of the elements; 3. The use of the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth," at times when there is no communion; 4. The meaning of the word *oblations* in that prayer.

(*a.*) *The Collection.*

Bishop Pepys appears to be of opinion that the offertory is altogether superseded by the poor-laws, and that the sentences in our communion-office "have lost their pertinence."[1]

If the rubric were now the same as before the introduction of the poor-law in the forty-third year of Elizabeth, we might remark, as in the case of the Daily Service,[2] the difficulty of reconciling his Lordship's views with the fact that the Prayer-Book has been subjected to a revision since the cessation of that state of things to which alone he supposes its directions to be applicable. It would, however, seem as if the divines of 1662 intended expressly to provide against such a doctrine as that in question, when for the order of earlier books, that "The churchwardens, &c. shall gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the *poor man's box;* and upon the offering-days appointed,[3] every man and woman shall pay to the curate the due and accustomed offerings"—they substituted our present rubric

[1] Charge, 1842, p. 12. [2] See p. 30.

[3] Viz. Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, and the feast of the dedication of the parish-church (Gibson, 739). This last was by an act of convocation in 1536 ordered to be everywhere celebrated on the first Sunday in October (Brand, ii. 1). Similar rules were made by some foreign councils in the same age. Walter, Lehrb. d. Kirchenrechts, 552. See too L'Estrange, 180; Wilkins, iii. 824; Corrie, in Latimer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 23.

—"The deacons, &c. shall receive the alms for the poor, and *other devotions* of the people, *in a decent basin*, &c."[4]

That part of the former rubric which provided for the payment of dues to the clergy on the offering-days had, as we know from Bishop Cosin's notes,[5] long been practically obsolete; while, therefore, the right of the clergy to a share of the offerings, in cases of necessity, was still reserved in the revised office, by retaining those sentences which make mention of it, the payment of dues in the time of Divine service was no longer countenanced; and the newly-introduced term "*other* devotions," as also the substitution of a basin for the poor-box, gave a sanction to the collection of money for pious purposes in general.

Indeed, on inquiring a little into the history of poor-laws, we find that the offertory was never supposed to answer the purpose of a sufficient provision for the poor; that the Act of 43 Elizabeth, therefore, cannot have been intended to supersede it, because the offices of the two were from the first recognized as different.

The part formerly borne by the Church in maintaining the poor appears to be very generally misapprehended. Mr. Hallam has shown, with his usual admirable clearness, the necessary inadequacy of the monastic system as an instrument for this purpose;[6] and on looking into the statutes we find that the legislature had felt itself compelled to direct its attention to the subject while the monasteries were yet in existence.[7] Thus, in 1494, it is enacted that "every beggar not able to work shall resort to the hundred where he last dwelled, is best known, or was born, and there remain."[8] Again, in 1503, there is an act, "to provide for beggars not able to work."[9] In 1530 it is ordered that "the justices of peace in every county, dividing them-

[4] Keeling, 186. [5] Works, v. 514.

[6] Const. Hist. i. 78-9; cf. Harrison, 305-6.

[7] Sir F. Eden mentions an act for relief as early as 1378. State of the Poor, i. 42-3. [8] 11 Hen. VII. c. 2. [9] 19 Hen. VII. c. 12.

selves into several limits, shall give license under their seals to such poor, aged, and impotent persons to beg within a certain precinct, as they shall think to have most need."[10]

In 1535 (still before the suppression of monasteries), there was an act which differed from those of earlier date, inasmuch as it appoints that the local authorities in all towns, parishes, &c. shall take care for the maintenance of the poor "by way of voluntary and charitable alms," to be raised "with boxes every Sunday, holy-day, and other festival day, or otherwise among themselves;"[11] and other acts of a like kind followed in the same reign, in that of Edward, under Mary,[12] and in almost every parliament of Elizabeth.[13]

These statutes, although they all differed more or less from the act of 43 Elizabeth, although the contribution was until 1562, and in some degree until 1572, not compulsory

[10] 22 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

[11] 27 Hen. VIII. c. 25.

[12] 2 and 3 Phil. & Mar. c. 5.

[13] In all these statutes there are penalties against vagabonds, some of them excessively severe. The mildest is, that they shall be set in the stocks for three days and three nights, with a diet of bread and water only. By the act of 27 Hen. VIII., "A valiant beggar, or sturdy vagabond, shall at the first time be whipped and sent to the place where he was born, or last dwelled, by the space of three years, there to get his living; and if he continue his roguish life, he shall have the upper part of the gristle of his right ear cut off; and if after that he be taken wandering in idleness, or doth not apply to his labour, or is not in service with any master, he shall be adjudged and executed as a felon." By the act 14 Eliz. c. 5—"A vagabond above the age of fourteen years shall be adjudged to be grievously whipped, and burned through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch, unless some credible person will take him into service for a year. And if, being of the age of eighteen years, he after do fall again into a roguish life, he shall suffer death as a felon, unless some credible person will take him into service for two years: and if he fall a third time into a roguish life, he shall be adjudged as a felon." Mr. Burn, in his History of Parish-registers, quotes from St. Nicolas, Durham, a notice that in 1592 five men "were hanged for being Egyptians" (p. 154). Although the proportion of punishment to crime was very high in those days, it is evident from such enactments as these that beggars must have been not merely a numerous but a dangerous class.

but voluntary,[14] all (although the act of 1535 made use in part of ecclesiastical machinery) appointed means other than the offertory for raising the requisite funds.[15]

What was the actual operation of the offertory during the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth, I have no very sufficient means of ascertaining. We know, however, that the Reformation was followed by a general decay of almsgiving, which is complained of by Latimer in many places, by Ridley, who, in Queen Mary's reign, speaks of it as one of the sins by which the restoration of popery had been deserved,[16] by many other preachers of the time,[17] in the homily 'Of Almsdeeds,' and in certain homilies set forth, A.D. 1596, "to move compassion towards the poor and needy."[18] In these last-named discourses, distribution both by magistrates and by private individuals is spoken of,[19] but the Church's part in such works is not brought forward; the offertory is not named, either in connexion with the mention of the poor-box,[20] or (where we might most surely have looked for some notice of it), on the occasion of quoting St. Paul's direction for setting apart a portion of income as alms "on the first day of the week;"[21]

[14] The act of 1562 (3 Eliz. c. 5) directed that, if any persons should obstinately refuse to give, according to their abilities, they should be dealt with by way of persuasion; and, if this should fail, should be assessed by the magistrates and churchwardens. Inquiries as to those who did not give were made by bishops, as by Parker and Parkhurst in 1569. (Doc. Ann. i. 327; Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 405.) The act of 1572 (14 Eliz. c. 5) introduced the principle of regular assessment. Eden's 'State of the Poor,' i. 127.

[15] Bucer in his book 'De Regno Christi,' about 1550, proposed a plan for managing the poor by means of the clergy, but apparently without effect. (Collier, ii. 302; see Harrison, 293-4 as to Herman, archbp. of Cologne, and 316 *seqq.* as to Bucer.) The poor-box is mentioned in the act of 1552 (and perhaps may be so in others), not as the treasury whence the money should be taken, but as the receptacle for such surplus as might remain after the objects should have been answered. (Gibson, 228.)

[16] Works, ed. Park. Soc. p. 60.

[17] See c. xiv. of Mr. Haweis's 'Sketches of the Reformation.'

[18] These have been reprinted by the Rev. Charles Miller, vicar of Harlow.

[19] p. 13. [20] p. 35. [21] 1 Cor. xvi. 2 (p. 41).

neither is there any mention of it in the homilies of 1563.

The rubric of those days, too, gave more countenance than the present rubric to the omission of the collection on ordinary Sundays and holy-days; for whereas it is now directed, that, if there be no communion, there "shall be said all that is appointed at the communion, until the end of the general prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church;"—the order then was, that the office should be gone through "until the end of the homily, concluding with the general prayer;" no mention being made in that rubric of the intervening offertory sentences.[22] And thus the order of service during the plague of 1563, passes at once from the sermon to the prayer for the Church.[23]

Taking these facts together, I am inclined to think that the system of an offertory on all Sundays and holy-days had become a dead letter long before the act of 43 Elizabeth. If, however, this be a mistaken conclusion, it will by no means follow that we are at liberty to adopt Bishop Pepys' views with respect to present duty. Let it be supposed that until the 43rd year of Elizabeth the offertory had been the main, and not a subsidiary, instrument of providing for the poor;—we can understand that, after a regular provision had been made by the statute of that year, the duty of giving in addition would be little felt, except by those comparatively few who were impelled to them by the higher principles of faith and love. As the temporal relief of the poor was the only object contemplated by the offertory-rubric of those days, or by the canon of 1604, which prescribed that alms-boxes should be set up in every church,[24] even such persons would have had to look chiefly elsewhere for the means of bestowing their bounty. If from such circumstances the offertory fell into disuse in the earlier half of the seventeenth century—

[22] Keeling, 228. [23] Grindal, Remains, 84. [24] Can. lxxxiv.

and we know that it was generally omitted even on occasions of communion[25]—this is in no sort a warrant for our disusing it.

During that very time we may trace a movement preparatory to the alteration of 1662; and it is interesting to observe that the extension of the offertory to new uses appears to have originated with the venerable Andrewes. In his notes, he gives a selection of sentences which particularly relate to *offering;* in the place where our sentences occur, he directs—"Instead of these, read the peculiar sentences for the offertory, *ut infra*, and some of these immediately before the benediction, for the poor." At that later period of the service he would have the sentences of our Prayer-Book read—the communicants, as they retire from the chancel to their seats, dropping their alms into the box at the chancel-door. From the expression in Bishop Buckeridge's sermon at his funeral—"He ever offered twice at the altar"[26]—it would seem that Andrewes himself adopted some such practice; and, although there is no record of this at his consecration of Jesus Chapel, we there find our present rubric anticipated, both in the manner of gathering, and in the destination of the money. One of the chaplains "in patinam argenteam oblationes collegit;" and the Bishop directed that these offerings should be employed in buying a chalice for the chapel.[27]

Laud's private chapel had one basin for alms, and another for offerings;[28] and in this, as in other matters, he declared at his trial that he followed the example of Andrewes.

Cosin says that "the people go up to offer at the altar, and besides go to put somewhat into the poor man's box."[29] "Introducing an offertory before the communion, distinct

[25] L'Estrange, 178; Taylor, ed. Eden, iii. 219; Fell's Hammond, in Eccl. Biog. iv. 322.

[26] Andrewes, Serm. v. 296.

[27] Sparrow, Rationale, 415.

[28] Prynne, quoted in Hier. Anglic. p. 10.

[29] Works, v. 459.

from the giving of alms to the poor," is among the practices noted as innovations in 1641.[30]

The sentences suggested by Andrewes were embodied in the Scotch Liturgy, probably through the influence of Laud; and a rubric of that book provided that a part of the collections should be applied in purchasing books for the priest, while the rest might be spent in furnishing the church, or any similar work, as well as in relieving the poor.

The rubric of our last revisers, although not framed in exact accordance with that just mentioned (as had been suggested in Sancroft's MS.), resembles it in recognizing a variety in the uses of the offertory.

For us, therefore, as has been said, the defective practice of those who lived in the earlier part of the seventeenth century can be no pattern or excuse. In addition to the legal rate for the poor, and to our private almsgiving, we have a duty, which it is to be hoped that churchmen will not cease to feel, of giving something to our needy and afflicted brethren through the medium of the Church; we have duties which did not fall on that generation, as to providing the means of religious knowledge and worship, both at home and abroad; and the present order of our Prayer-Book, unlike the earlier, constitutes the offertory into a channel for the performance of such duties. I cannot, therefore, but differ very widely from the opinion which has led us into this discussion.[31]

A rubric at the end of the office directs that the money collected at the offertory shall be appropriated "after the

[30] Cardw. Conf. 273.

[31] [An opinion has been proposed that the "pious and charitable uses" to which the collections made at the offertory may be devoted must be uses within the parish. But there is no such limitation in the rubric; and few, it is to be hoped, would refuse to echo the words of the Bishop of St. David's—"If there were a law restricting the application to one class of objects, I should earnestly desire to see that restriction immediately abolished." Charge, 1845, p. 27.]

Divine service ended." This phrase includes occasions on which the communion is not celebrated; and in like manner it is ordered that certain collects shall "be said after the offertory, when there is no communion." The Church, therefore, evidently sanctions the use of the offertory on all Sundays and holy-days, and contemplates this practice as more easy of attainment than that of administering the holy communion on all such days.

I do not, however, apprehend that we are bound to have a collection on every Sunday and holy-day. In the practice of the seventeenth century, both before and after the last review, the offertory was too generally neglected at all times in country parishes; even the most exemplary pastors, such as Hammond and Bull, did not attempt to revive it unless on occasions of communion.[32] In the strict and minute injunctions of Bishop Wren, while all the other parts of service to be used when there is no administration are specially enumerated, there is no mention of a collection at the offertory.[33] These circumstances must have some weight in the interpretation of our rubric, while we have reason to rejoice that our actual practice is better than that of the time in question, and willingly admit that it is our duty still further to improve it. In the Prayer-Book itself, provision is made for occasions when there may "be no alms or oblations;" and the rubric as to the use of collects may be satisfied by reading the prayer for the Church;—that, as we shall see hereafter, being included under the term *offertory*. The Priest, too, is left to say, at his discretion, a single sentence and no more, which would, of course, be insufficient to give time for a general collection even in the smallest congregation. The reading of one or two sentences would afford an opportunity to any one who might especially wish to offer, on occasions when there should not be a gathering from the people in general.

[32] Eccl. Biog. iv. 322; Life of Bull, 53.

[33] Doc. Ann. ii. 200, *seqq.*

Although I have tried in vain to discover or imagine any creditable grounds for the violent opposition which is now made to the system of a weekly offertory, it seems advisable, for the avoiding of needless and hurtful disagreements, that we should proceed carefully and gradually in any attempt to introduce it.[34]

It has been questioned whether alms ought to be received of non-communicants on days when a celebration is intended. In early times, such persons were excluded from offering.[35] The custom of the Western Church in later days was, however, different; and that the intention of the English Church is to follow the practice which had prevailed in these countries before the Reformation, appears plain from the rubrics of 1549 and 1662. In the former, it is ordered that *before* the separation of communicants from the rest, "so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor men's box;"[36] in the latter, the offertory precedes the direction that the communicants shall be "conveniently placed."

The intentions of Elizabeth's revisers may be gathered from the circumstance that Guest, in writing to Cecil on the revision, quotes from Durandus—"The mass of the learners is from the introit until after the offertory."[37]

[34] [See Archd. Harrison, 370.]

[35] Bingham, xv. 2. 2; Martene, i. 139; Guéranger, i. 60.

[36] Aless' translation of this—"quilibet qui communionem vult percipere"—appears to be inconsistent with the language and matter of the next rubric—"*Then* [*i.e.* after the offering] so many as shall be partakers of the holy communion shall tarry still in the choir, or in some convenient place near the choir. All other shall depart out of the choir," &c. In the injunctions of 1549-50 it is ordered—"That after the homily every Sunday, the minister exhort the people, and especially the communicants, to remember the poor men's box with their charity." (Doc. Ann. i. 64.) Ridley, however, orders in 1550 that "The minister after the offertory shall monish the *communicants*, saying these words or such like—'Now is the time, if it please you, to remember the poor men's chest with your charitable alms.'" Doc. Ann. i. 83. (See Harrison, 308.) Parkhurst inquires in 1561 whether the clergy "exhort the people to remember the poor when they read the sentences exhorting the almose." Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 401.

[37] Cardw. Conf. 51.

Those of our later revisers, if any key to them were needed, might be illustrated by various passages in which the very influential Cosin includes the offertory in the non-communicants' part of the office.[38] We find, indeed, that Andrewes, in his consecration-service, excluded non-communicants before the time of offering; but it is to be remembered that in the Book of his day there was no rubric on the subject of separation or convenient placing.

(*b.*) *The Placing of the Elements.*

It was ordered in the Book of 1549, that after the offertory sentences had been read, the priest should "set both the bread and wine upon the altar."[39] This rubric was omitted in 1552; from which time until 1662 it is to be supposed that the clergy, according to their doctrinal views and sympathies, either placed the elements with their own hands, or allowed them to be placed by others. "Offering of bread and wine by the hands of the churchwardens and others, before the consecration of the elements," is noted as an innovation of the school of Laud in 1641.[40]

At the last review, the rubric was again made imperative, in accordance with the Scotch Liturgy and the first Book of Edward VI. The new rule, we know, was exceedingly little heeded in the following times. Hickes writes that it was "almost never since observed in cathedral or parochial churches. I say almost never, because I never knew or heard but of two or three persons, which is a very small number, who observed it."[41] He traces this, with apparent reason, to a remaining influence of the practice which had prevailed before the alteration. But the history of the rubric gives so marked a character to its present provisions, that I conceive the ordinary argument from the dispensing power of custom to be altogether inadmissible in this case.

[38] Works, v. 459. [39] Keeling, 185. [40] Cardw. Conf. 273.
[41] Treatises, i. 128; cf. 322-4, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.

A question arises—whence is the priest to take the elements before placing them?

A credence or side-table was used by Andrewes, Laud, and other divines of the same school, and was objected to as an innovation in 1641.[42] Sparrow conceives that this article of furniture may be implied or sanctioned by the rubric which directs that "chancels shall remain as in times past."[43] The interpretation which refers that rubric to the furniture of the chancel is not, however, given by him as certain, but only as possible; and other writers with reason suppose that the distinctness of the chancel from the rest of the church, and the preservation of the steps and seats, are all that is intended.[44]

Bull, we are told "always placed the elements of bread and wine upon the altar himself, after he had received them from the churchwarden or clerk, or had taken them from some convenient place where they had been laid for that purpose."[45]

I conceive that these ways of fulfilling the injunction of the rubric are all perfectly unobjectionable in themselves; but that the custom of suffering the elements to be placed on the holy table by any other hands than the priest's, and at any other time than that which is appointed, is a transgression of the rubric in spirit as well as in the letter.

[The use of a credence-table was condemned by Sir H. Jenner Fust, on the ground that it "does not appear to be warranted by any law, canon or constitution."[46] But in the case of the Knightsbridge churches the privy council pronounced in favour of it as being a legitimate "adjunct to the communion-table."[47]]

[42] Rushw. ii. 280; Cardw. Conf. 273; see Hickes, i. 129-132.
[43] Ration. 305.
[44] See Cosin, v. 229; Gibson, Codex, 223; Wheatley; Burn, i. 341.
[45] Life by Nelson, 53.
[46] Robertson's Report of Faulkner *v.* Litchfield, 58-67.
[47] Moore's Report, 187.

(*c.*) *The Prayer for the Church Militant.*

A rubric at the end of the communion-office directs that "Upon the Sundays and other holy-days, if there be no communion, shall be said all that is appointed at the communion, until the end of the general prayer *For the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth.*"

It has been lately argued that the prayer for the Church ought not to form a part of the service when there is no administration of the communion. The chief ground of the opinion is, that the rubric before the prayer orders it to be said *after* the alms of the people and the elements intended for consecration have been placed on the altar; and consequently, that according to that rubric the prayer is not to be said, unless these acts have previously been performed.

This argument, I need hardly remark, in no wise does away with the rubric above given; at the utmost, it could only prove that the two orders are contradictory: and it might with equal reason be asserted that the rubric before the prayer is contradicted by the marginal direction, —"If there be no alms or oblations, then shall the words *of accepting our alms and oblations* be left unsaid."

It has been said that Bishop Beveridge "attempted a solution of the discrepancy between the two rubrics, by supposing that the Church intended that the preparation for an actual communion should be always made, and that the minister should proceed to the end of the prayer with the intention of going through the whole office, if any should offer to communicate with him."[48] But if this was the Bishop's meaning (which seems to be open to some doubt)[49] it must be regarded as rather the imagina-

[48] Quart. Rev. No. cxliii. p. 259. See Beveridge, 'Great Necessity and Advantage of Frequent Communion' (Works, viii. 562-3, 597, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.

[49] [See Archdeacon Harrison's note, p. 246.]

tion of a good man, zealous for frequency of communion, than an argument capable of being supported by facts; besides that it would be inconsistent with that other rubric which requires that persons wishing to communicate shall give previous notice of their intention.

The true explanation evidently is—that the prayer is intended to be used on all Sundays and holy-days; that on occasions of administration it is to be said after the alms and elements have been presented; and that on other days it is to hold a corresponding place, although these things, in whole or in part, have not been previously "done."[50] The Church, I believe, has designed to provide in her Communion-office two distinct services; the one, for the celebration of the holy mysteries; the other, for ordinary occasions; and, where there is no special direction, we are left to exercise our common sense in omitting from the shorter service such things as would be absurd or needless unless there were an actual communion. This view will give the solution of other cases besides that which is now before us.

Another argument against the use of the prayer is derived from the circumstance that certain collects are ordered to be said "after the *offertory* when there is no communion."

This objection is sufficiently answered by Wheatley, who shews that the rubric dates from the first book of Edward, in which the non-communion office did not include the prayer for the Church; and although the rubric was not altered at the time when the prayer was included in that office, "the collects are still to be said *after* the offertory, though not *immediately after*, as formerly; the prayer coming in between."

[50] [In truth, as Archdeacon Harrison (pp. 230, 247) has pointed out, the words of the rubric are, "shall be said"—not "shall be said and done."] In special forms of service—such as those for Charles I.'s accession (1626), during the war in the Palatinate (1628), and during a plague in 1636—the prayer is appointed to be said, although there is no mention of the communion following.

It appears to me, however, that Wheatley is mistaken in limiting the term *offertory* to the sentences which are read during the collection of money. Such was, indeed, the case in Edward's first Book, to which he refers; but when, in 1552, the prayer was transferred from a more advanced part of the service to its present position immediately after the sentences, and a petition for acceptance of alms was inserted in it, it would seem to have become a part of the offertory; and it was at that same time that the order was given for including it in the non-communion service. The rubric before and that after these collects, therefore, are perfectly consistent with each other; so that the alteration suggested in Sancroft's MS.—"After the offertory or prayer for the estate of Christ's Church"—was altogether needless.

(*d.*) *The meaning of the word* "Oblation."

It appears not unsuitable to the object of this work that we should consider in what sense the term *oblations* in our communion-office ought to be understood; since on its meaning will depend the practical question whether it ought to be used on some occasions.

The word was introduced into the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church at the last review. At the same time, it was ordered, that, immediately before saying that prayer, the priest should place, first, the collected money, and then the elements of bread and wine, upon the holy table. The Scotch Liturgy had used the phrase "offer up" with respect to the elements; and in the language of the theological school which had the ascendancy in our Church at the last revision, as well as in that of the ancient Church, and of the Church before the Reformation, these were designated by the term *oblations*. On a consideration of these facts, I can have little doubt that it was the intention of the revisers to *include* the bread and wine

under the term; had it been otherwise, some other word would surely have been employed.[51]

It has, however, been argued by divines of very high character that the term must refer to the elements *exclusively*. "We humbly beseech God," writes Bishop Patrick, "to *accept* not only our *alms*, but also our *oblations*. These are things distinct; and the former, *alms*, signifying that which was given for the relief of the poor, the latter, *oblations*, can signify nothing else but (according to the style of the ancient Church), the bread and wine presented unto God, &c."[52] In other words, the money collected must all fall under the denomination of *alms;* the other term, consequently, must signify something different from money, and therefore necessarily the elements. The same reasoning is repeated by various writers.[53] No other argument of any pretension is brought forward; but this is supposed to be conclusive.

After having for some years acquiesced in the interpretation, I was led to entertain a doubt of it by observing a curiously correspondent distinction which runs through our present office. Thus, in the offertory-rubric it is directed that the collectors "shall receive the alms for the poor, *and* other devotions of the people;" in the following prayer, we beseech God "to accept our alms *and* oblations," while in the margin it is directed that "if there be no alms *or* oblations, these words shall be left unsaid;" and, lastly, at the end of the office it is ordered that "the money given to the offertory shall be disposed of to pious *and* charitable uses." It is also remarkable that in every one of these passages the distinction dates from the revision of 1662.

[51] [For the application to the elements, see Prof. Blunt, 'Duties of the Parish Priest,' 332-3; against it, Mr. Crosthwaite in Brit. Mag. xxxi. 620-3.]

[52] 'Christian Sacrifice,' quoted in Tracts for the Times, No. 81, p. 218.

[53] Hickes (ib. 279); Nelson (294); Brett (381-385); the editor of Tract 81; Dr. Pusey (37-8); J. Johnson, in Bulley's 'Variations' (159); Shepherd; Bp. Jolly, on the Eucharist, p. 142.

Let us now look back to earlier usage.

In the Book of 1549 it is ordered, that "whiles the clerks do sing the offertory, so many as are disposed shall offer to the poor man's box and at the offering-days appointed, every man and woman shall pay to the curate the due and accustomed offerings." [54] Another rubric of the same date prescribed that the clergy should provide the elements, and the parishioners "shall offer every Sunday at the time of the offertory the just value [*valour*, ed. Park. Soc.] and price of the holy loaf, with all such money and other things as were wont to be offered with the same, to the use of their pastors and curates." [55]

The Liturgies from 1552 to 1662 directed that the churchwardens or others should "gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor man's box, and upon the offering-days, &c." as in the earlier Book.

We have already seen that gifts made at the offertory were distinguished by Andrewes and Laud into *alms* and *offerings*.[56]

The Scotch Liturgy directs that one half of the collection be given "to the use of the presbyter, to provide him books of holy Divinity; the other half shall be faithfully kept, and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of that church, or the public relief of their poor." [57]

It appears, therefore, that our Prayer-Books have always provided for a money-offering of two different kinds. Formerly, there was a payment to the priest, at the same time with the collection for the poor; and in our present office, there is a continually marked distinction in the passages which make mention of the collection. That portion which is given to "charitable uses" is spoken of by the name of "alms;" and it appears as if the word *oblations* might signify the "other devotions," destined for

[54] Keeling, 185. [55] Ib. 233. [56] p. 177. [57] Keeling, 226.

uses which are characterized by the epithet "pious." It would seem, therefore, inconsistent with the history of the rubrics, and with the construction of our present service, to say that all offerings of money must be included under the name of "alms." While it is certain, as Bishop Patrick says, that the term *oblations* was by ecclesiastical usage applied to the elements intended for consecration, it is no less unquestionable that it was also employed to signify money intended for the maintenance of the clergy, for the service of God, for merciful works of the more spiritual kind, and that sometimes it even denotes the alms for relief of temporal necessities."[58] And it deserves to be especially noticed, that the Book of 1662, in which the order for presentation of the elements was restored, and the word *oblations* was introduced, was also the first which provided for the presentation of the collected money on the altar; the manner having previously been that it should be at once put into the poor-box.

I believe, therefore, that there is reason for differing—which I do with sincere diffidence—from the respected Divines who would confine the term "oblations" to the elements offered for consecration.

Let me be allowed to add a few words on the doctrinal intentions of those who introduced the term, with the accompanying rites, into our liturgy at the last revision. They meant almost certainly (as it seems to me) to countenance that high doctrine of the eucharist which was held by the school of Laud.[59] Still, if my interpretation of the word be correct, it is evident that a person who does not hold that doctrine may, without any evasion, say the amended service; and from the fact that the words of the Scotch Book "*offer up*" were not adopted (although they had been suggested in Sancroft's manuscript) it would

[58] See Appendix IV.

[59] See, however, Mr. Crosthwaite, as quoted above.

seem that the revisers did not wish to add a belief of the sacrificial doctrine to the conditions necessary for admission to the ministry.

XVII.

On some other Points in the Communion-office.

(*a.*) *The Lord's Prayer.*

In the rubric before the Lord's Prayer where it first occurs in the Prayer-Book, it is ordered that the people shall repeat it with the priest, "wheresoever it is used in Divine service."

It is very commonly supposed that the Prayer as it is found in the beginning of the Communion-office does not fall within the application of this rubric. The idea is, I believe, founded on the following arguments:—(1) That a special rubric before the Communion-office directs that "the *priest* shall say the Lord's Prayer with the collect following;" (2) That the Communion is not to be understood under the term "Divine service."

With respect to the latter of these reasons, I may observe, that in all the instances which have fallen under my notice of a distinction between "Divine service" and Communion, the latter term appears to signify a celebration; consequently, that the ante-communion may be included in "Divine service," although the properly sacramental part of the office were not so. The matter, however, is put beyond all doubt as regards the present question, by the fact that at the same time when the general rubric relating to the Lord's Prayer was inserted, the Communion-office was in two other places recognized as a part of "Divine service."[1]

[1] Rubric at the end of the office—"After the Divine service ended, the money given at the offertory shall be disposed of." Rub. in the Form of Matrimony—"The banns shall be published in the time of Divine service, immediately before the sentences for the offertory."

We find that until the last review the Lord's Prayer was, in the course of the Church's services, repeated in four different ways[2]:—(1) by the priest and the people together, as after the Apostles' Creed, and (although then without explicit direction) in the beginning of morning and evening prayer; (2) partly by the priest, partly by the people (who said the words "Deliver us from evil" by way of a response), as in the litany and elsewhere; (3) by the priest alone, at the beginning of the Communion—which appears most probable, although I am not aware of any testimony to the fact; (4) in the post-communion, by the people *after* the priest, as the confession in the daily services is now said.[3] The general rubric, quoted above, was inserted in 1662, with a view, seemingly, of establishing one uniform manner throughout the services. It may have been thought needless to alter the two rubrics in the Communion-office, as they may both be interpreted without any glaring contradiction to the general rule.[4]

That the practice described under the *third* head has continued in this place, may perhaps be ascribed to the force of tradition, prevailing over the new order. We know that it prevailed against an express and clear rubric in the matter of placing the eucharistic elements;[5] here, where there was some room for doubt, the victory might be still easier.

In some cathedrals and other churches the custom is that the priest alone should say the prayer, without being accompanied even in the *Amen*. This practice, as well as that of joint repetition throughout, would satisfy the rule by which the Amen is printed in upright letters.[6] It

[2] As to earlier varieties, see S. Greg. Magn. Ep. ix. 12; Krazer, 527; Daniel, Cod. Liturg. i. 43.

[3] Whitgift, ii. 490-2; Hooker, v. 36. 1. There is a slight error as to this in Mr. Keble's note.

[4] See Bennett, Hist. of Common Prayer, 184. Professor Blunt inclines to favour the custom of repetition by the priest alone, 326.

[5] See p. 181.

[6] The rule is, that the Amen is so printed when it and the preceding prayer or other form of words are to be said by the same lips; *i.e.* either

appears to me, however, that it is a tradition of the time before the last revision, not an exemplification of our present rubric.

(*b.*) *The Epistle and Gospel.*

The place for reading the epistle and gospel is not expressly prescribed in our rubric.

Anciently, they were read from the ambon, or ambons; for the arrangement of churches varied as to this—some having an ambon in the middle, while in others there was one on either side. Durandus uses the terms *pulpitum* and *ambo* as synonymous.[7] He says that the epistle might be read either on the right hand or in the middle of the church; the mystical reasons for the latter practice, however, being stronger. The epistle was read by the subdeacon, the gospel by the deacon; they both read from the same ambon, but in some churches they went up to it by different ways.[8] The reader of the epistle stood on a lower step, the gospeller on a higher.[9]

In the middle ages, it was usual to chant the gospel from the roodloft.[10] The Sarum Missal[11] orders that the epistle be read sometimes from the pulpit, sometimes "ad gradum chori;" and the gospel from the same place with it. The directions of the Hereford Missal were similar.[12] The Roman Missal seems to direct that these parts of the service shall be read in advance of the altar;—the epistle on the south side, the gospel on the north.[13] The readers stand on the floor of the presbytery—*i.e.* the space between the altar and the stalls.[14]

According to Edward the Sixth's injunctions, 1547, these

throughout by minister alone, or throughout by minister and people together. See a good statement and illustration of the principle by the Rev. C. Lacy, in Brit. Mag. Jan. 1841, p. 44.

[7] i. 32. [8] iv. 24. [9] Ib. iv. 15; cf. Krazer, 116; Schmid, ii. 134.

[10] Pugin, in Dub. Review, No. xxiii. p. 100. [11] Fol. ii.-iii.

[12] Maskell, Ant. Liturgy, ed. 2, pp. 34-5.

[13] Gavanti, i. 202-4; see the Cærimoniale Episcoporum, 204.

[14] Schmid, ii. 134.

scriptures were to be read "in the pulpit,[15] or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same."[16] His first Book orders them to be read "in a place assigned for the purpose,"[17] and is the only one of our Prayer-Books which makes any mention of the subject.[18] Sancroft's MS. suggests that this rubric should be restored.

Grindal enjoins at York that the epistle and gospel be read in the "pulpit or stall,"—meaning by the latter word the priest's stall in the chancel of small churches, and by *pulpit*, the "decent low pulpit" or desk in which the morning and evening services are ordered by him to be said in larger churches; not the sermon-pulpit, which is mentioned in another of his injunctions as evidently different.[19] Bancroft in 1608 ordered at Canterbury Cathedral that they should be read "in some convenient place, near the communion-table."[20]

Andrewes would have them read from the door of the chancel.[21] It was so at the consecration of Jesus Chapel, Southampton, where one of his chaplains read the epistle, and the other the gospel, each standing in the same place, "ante sacram mensam;" and Wren (one of those chaplains) in his answer when impeached, speaks of this practice as usual.

Prynne, in arguing that the whole "second service" should be read from the desk, asserts that "The rubric

[15] The same injunctions ordered that the churchwardens should provide "a comely and honest pulpit . . . for the preaching of God's word" (ib. 17); and this order was repeated in Elizabeth's injunctions, ib. 189.

[16] Doc. Ann. i. 13.

[17] Keeling, 175.

[18] The Latin of Elizabeth, however, has "in loco ad id assignato," p. 385, ed. Park. Soc.

[19] Remains, 132-3. [As the explanation of the term *pulpit* is given in the injunction itself, there is no pretext for the assertion which has been frequently made of late years, that Grindal intended a lectern on the rood-loft or chancel-screen. He had, in fact, been particularly active in carrying out the orders of 1561 as to taking down the rood-lofts and "putting some convenient crest" on the screen. (See ib. 154.)]

[20] Wilkins, iv. 436.

[21] Works, xi. 152.

expressly determines that the epistle and gospel (chief parts of this service) shall be read where the two lessons are, with a loud voice, that the people may hear the minister that readeth them."[22] I am not aware of any such rubric. The point, however, has always been left open by the rubric; and even Wren, in ordering that the other parts of the service should be said at the altar, adds —"yet so as in very large churches the minister may come nearer to read the epistle and gospel."[23]

When the epistle and gospel are read at or near the altar by two clergymen, it is customary that the epistler should stand on the south, and the gospeller on the north. It has, however, been said of late that "even where there is but one clergyman officiating, before commencing the epistle he should cross to the epistle side, and recross before beginning the gospel." This practice is forbidden in the injunctions of 1549–50, and in those of Bishop Ridley, where it is directed "that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass in shifting the book from one place to another."[24] It has no kind of sanction from the Reformed Church, and, as we have seen, the scriptures in question were anciently and in the middle ages very commonly read without change of place, although the readers were different.

The Book of 1549 prescribes that after the gospel has been announced "The clerks and people shall answer—*Glory be to Thee, O Lord!*"[25] Cosin supposes that the omission of the order in later books, was the effect of negligence on the part of printers.[26] The use of this doxology would seem to have been customary in Hooker's time.[27] The Scotch Liturgy orders it, and also a thanksgiving after the gospel; and the XXIXth of the present Scotch canons sanctions both. No rubric on the subject

[22] Cant. Doom, 493. [23] Doc. Ann. ii. 201. [24] Doc. Ann. i. 63-81.
[25] Keeling, 177. [26] Works, v. 91. [27] v. 30. 3.

was introduced at the last revision, although Sancroft's book suggests an adoption of the Scotch order; the doxology, however, has been very generally retained in practice, and may surely be so without blame.

(c.) *The Time for approaching the Lord's Table.— The Dismissal of Non-Communicants.*

There was formerly a considerable variety of opinion and practice as to the place where the communicants should receive. Puritans wished to remain in their seats, and loudly complained of some bishops who required them to go into the chancel. This question was connected with that as to the position of the holy table, which need not be here re-opened.

The VIIth canon of 1640 required communicants to "approach to the holy table, there to receive the Divine mysteries," and grounds this order on the words of the service—"Draw near and take this holy sacrament to your comfort."[28] It does not, however, make those words the signal for the approach. Andrewes observes—"Forte non opus est his verbis, quia jam accesserunt."[29] Wren says that the communicants, to whom the words are addressed, are already in the chancel; the invitation to "draw near," therefore, must, in his opinion, mean that they are to draw still nearer—*i.e.* that they shall come up to the rail.[30] And it appears that by the custom of that age the time of approaching to the altar was between the exhortation "Dearly beloved in the Lord," &c. and the invitation in which the words "Draw near" are found.[31]

Juxon, however, as bishop of London, asks in 1640 whether, when the minister "calleth on those who intend to communicate, to draw near and take that holy sacra-

[28] Synodalia, 405; Keeling, 200. [29] Works, xi. 156.

[30] Parentalia, 83.

[31] See Cosin, iv. 359; v. 516; Sparrow's Rationale, 211; Montagu's Articles, 81.

ment . . . have you any in your parish that keep their seats, and sit still in their places, not drawing near, as is commanded by the Church, but looking that the minister should forsake the place of his station, by the Church appointed, to bring it to them?"[32]

At the subsequent revision of the Liturgy, there was inserted a direction that the communicants should be "conveniently placed for receiving" before the exhortation; and at the same time the words "Draw near" lost the signification of a *bodily* approach, in consequence of the addition—"with faith."

The rubric as to convenient placing appears to mark (as has been already suggested, p. 180) the period of the service at which the separation of communicants from non-communicants ought to be made, and to determine that the portion in which the latter share on occasions of communion shall be the same which is appointed to be read when there is no celebration.

It remains to be considered in what manner the non-communicants shall be disposed of. In the Book of 1549 it is ordered that after the offertory "so many as shall be partakers of the holy communion, shall tarry still in the choir, or in some convenient place nigh unto the choir. All other (that mind not to receive the said holy communion), shall depart out of the choir, except the minister and clerks."[33]

The former custom, by which the non-communicants remained in the body and aisles[34] of the church during the communion, was still continued; nor has it ever been forbidden in our service-books. The estimation of such

[32] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 592. [33] Keeling, 185.

[34] Farrar, bishop of St. David's, was accused in Edward's reign of suffering non-communicants to be in the choir. His defence is, that the choir in the churches where this had taken place, was not properly separated from the rest of the church. (Fox, iii. 167-170.)

bystanding, however, was very different before and after the Reformation. Formerly, the celebration of the mass in the sight of the people had been very frequent, but communion of the laity had been only annual;"[35] now, while the practice of remaining in the church as "gazers and lookers" was not forbidden, the people were very earnestly taught that such a practice was no wise commendable or safe. Thus, the XXVth article declares, that "the sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon or carried about, but that we should duly use them, and in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation;" the homily "Of the sacrament" teaches that "of necessity we must be ourselves partakers of this table, and not beholders of other;"[36] and an exhortation which was in the liturgies from 1552 until the last revision pronounces it less blameable to depart from the church than to remain without communicating.[37] This is styled by Cosin, in his earliest notes, "a religious invective against the lewd and irreligious custom of the people, then nursed up in popery, to be present at the communion, and to let the priest communicate for them all."[38] And he elsewhere speaks of it as "an exhortation to the people that they should go out of the church who do not come thither to communicate."[39]

1559. Guest, bishop of Rochester, at the time of the revision under Elizabeth, seems to advocate a dismissal of non-communicants.[40]

1563. The lower house of Convocation requested, among

[35] See ch. xviii. § *a*. Schmid tells us, as to present practice in his part of the world (viz. the diocese of Passau, and probably Southern Germany in general), the priest is usually the only communicant; and even those others who communicate do not usually receive *in* the mass, as all rituals direct, but either before or after. "It is as if the clergy themselves had lost the feeling how intimately the communion is connected with the oblation." (ii. 247.)

[36] Ed. Oxford, 1832, p. 404. [37] Keeling, 192.

[38] Works, v. 98. [39] Ib. 304. [40] Card. Conf. 51.

other things, "that no person abide within the church during the time of the communion, unless they do communicate." That is, that they shall depart immediately after the exhortation be ended, and before the confession.[41] But no such rule was enacted.

We find Grindal writing to Parker, in 1564, that it were advisable not to have a public communion of the London magistrates at St. Paul's on the thanksgiving for cessation of the plague, because "if the communion be ministered in Paul's, it will be done so tumultuously and gazingly, by means of the infinite multitude that will resort thither to see, that the rest of the action will be disordered."[42]

At Canterbury Cathedral, the same year, "none were suffered to tarry within the chancel, but the communicants."[43] The rest probably left the church, as they could not see through the screen which encloses the choir.

When Harding "saith in scorn that we would have all the people that will not receive to be driven out of the church," Jewel replies—"O Mr. Harding . . . you know this is neither the doctrine nor the practice of our Church; howbeit, the ancient doctors have both taught so, and also practised the same."[44] He argues strenuously in various places against the Roman practice, and alleges ancient Christian writers who denounce the custom of looking on at communion without partaking.[45]

In like manner Becon denounces the presence of non-communicants as a Romish abuse, and undertakes to prove

[41] Strype, Annals, i. 341.

[42] Remains, 267.

[43] Strype, Parker, 183. [A passage from the account of Parker's visitation of the cathedral in 1570 (Strype's Parker, 303) has been wrongly brought into this question, as the exclusion of "extern laity" after the sermon was not with a view to the holy communion, but to the business of the visitation. Mr. Maskell says that this is "incapable of proof," and asks "What then means *extern?*" (Ant. Liturgy, ed. 2, p. lxxxvi.) To me it seems that Strype's account makes the matter quite clear; and by "extern" are meant persons not on the foundation of the cathedral.]

[44] Works, ed. Park. Soc. i. 186.

[45] *e.g.* ib. i. 55, 116; iii. 472-5.

from antiquity that none but communicants ought to witness the celebration.[46]

Whitgift writes, in answer to Cartwright, "The book doth exhort those to depart which do not communicate, with a warning from whence they depart; so that you may well understand that the meaning of the book is, that all that be present should communicate."[47]

Middleton, bishop of St. David's, orders in 1583 that non-communicants shall "be commanded to depart after the general confession made in the name of the communicants; and if any be so stubborn that they will not depart, then the minister to proceed no further in the communion, but in the next consistory court complain of them as interrupters and troublers of God's divine service."[48]

Towards the end of the century, it would seem to have been usual for non-communicants to depart from the church.[49]

Andrewes dismissed the non-communicants at the consecration of Jesus Chapel, and that, as we have seen in a former section, *before* the offertory.[50]

In the time of Charles I., the custom of allowing non-communicants to be present at the celebration appears to have been generally obsolete. Montagu's Articles of 1638 appear to require that "boys, girls, or irreverent men and women" be excluded from the chancel only;[51] but it is said that at Ipswich, in the following year, he gave order that "no boys, girls, or gazers be suffered to look in, as at a play."[52]

At the last revision of the Prayer-Book, all allusions to the presence of non-communicants were removed. It has

[46] Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 255-6; iii. 481-3.

[47] Works, ed. Park. Soc. ii. 549. [48] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 426.

[49] See Hooker, v. 68, 10. Gilby, a puritan quoted by Bancroft (Dangerous Positions, b. ii. c. 9), says, "They eat not the Lord's Supper, but play a pageant of their own to blind the people, to make the silly souls believe that they have an English mass." But this seems to mean the second service without communion.

[50] Sparrow, 415. [51] p. 43. [52] Prynne, Cant. Doom, 88.

been argued that "as we well know in what direction all the changes went at that most important era, it is but fair to conclude that the revision went to restore the use of Edward's first Book."[53]

It is, however, to be observed, that the alterations of 1662 extended beyond the omission of the expressions in which "gazing" was censured; for until then, the words "make your humble confession to Almighty God" were followed by these—"before this congregation here gathered together in His holy Name."[54] And even were there not this circumstance to be considered, we might, as it appears to me, safely conclude on a view of the history, that it was the intention of the revisers to throw a veil over the practice which had until then been permitted by the Church, rather than to give it any additional sanction. Still, it is not forbidden; and it is possible that in particular instances a clergyman may be able to turn to good account the liberty which is allowed by our Prayer-Book.

(*d.*) *The Tersanctus.*

Sir William Palmer[55] and Dr. Jebb[56] are of opinion that the choir or congregation ought not to join in this hymn before the words "Holy, holy, holy," and that the revisers of our liturgy could not have intended to countenance the more usual practice, by which the people join at the words "Therefore with angels." It appears to me, however, that an examination into the history of our Prayer-Book points to an opposite conclusion as to the meaning of the present rubric.

[53] Modern Puritanism, p. 55. This pamphlet is chiefly a reprint from the Christian Remembrancer of Jan. 1843. There is a note on the question in the Hierurgia, p. 105, which is quite in keeping with the general character of that work.

[54] Keeling, 200. [Mr. Maskell maintains that the "congregation" here meant was that of the communicants themselves (Ant. Liturg. ed. 2, p. lxxv.); but this seems to me very doubtful.]

[55] Orig. Lit. ii. 127. [56] Choral Service, 506.

In the book of 1549, the rubric directs that "After [the] Preface shall follow immediately, 'Therefore with angels,'" &c. The piece is divided into two paragraphs, of which the second begins with "Holy, holy, holy," and is preceded by the mark ¶. At the end follows the direction "This the clerks shall also sing." Under that book, therefore, it seems to have been intended that the clerks should join in the latter part only.

In the book of 1552, there were still two paragraphs; but the ¶ was removed from the beginning of the second to the beginning of the first, and the rubric as to the clerks singing was withdrawn. It would seem that the influences which governed the revision were unfavourable to the use of music at this service, as the Nicene Creed was ordered to be "said;" and even Bishop Andrewes, writing many years after, says "In sacra synaxi [*i. e.* the Communion] nihil canitur, quod alias fieri solet; sed omnia graviter et severe peraguntur, cum affectu potius quam modulatione."[57] And the intention was apparently that the people should join from the beginning of the hymn.

After the Hampton Court Conference this was further marked by throwing the two paragraphs into one; and the practice, until the revision of 1662, appears from Sparrow's Commentary, where the "thrice holy and triumphant song" is treated as beginning from the word "Therefore."[58]

At the last revision, the two parts were left united as before; and the rubric was altered to "shall immediately be sung or said"—words which elsewhere signify a joint recitation by the priest and the choir or people.

Hence it would seem to be intended that the congregation should join throughout. In "choirs and places where they sing," perhaps it may be meant, that, as in the case of the Nicene Creed, the priest should intone,[59] and the singers should take up the rest. But if so, the analogy of that Creed

[57] Works, xi. 153. [58] Rationale, 216. [59] See p. 123.

would confine the priest's part to the first three (or perhaps five) words.

The "Amen" was added at the last revision. The principle which has been stated in a former section[60] will not account for the printing of it in italics in this place; but the difficulty is the same whether we suppose the part of the singers or people to begin earlier or later.

(*e.*) *The Confession.*

The direction that the communicants should join in saying the confession was first introduced in 1662. The rubric had previously ordered that it be said "in the name of all those that are minded to receive, either by one of them, or else by one of the ministers, or by the priest himself, all kneeling humbly upon their knees."[61] On this the committee of 1641 suggests—"Whether the rubric is not to be mended concerning the party that is to make his confession; that it should be said only by the minister, and then at every clause repeated by the people."[62] Among the concessions of the episcopal divines at the Savoy was this—"That the general confession at the communion be pronounced by one of the ministers, the people saying it after him."[63]

Hence it would seem, that, although the rubric is still not explicit as to this point, the people ought here, as in the daily service, to say the several clauses of their confession not *with* but *after* the minister.

(*f.*) *The Position of the Priest at the Consecration.*

Rubric. "When the priest, standing before the table, hath so ordered the bread and wine that he may with the more readiness and decency break the bread before the people, and take the cup into his hands, he shall say the prayer of consecration."

[60] p. 190. [61] Keeling, 200. [62] Card. Conf. 275. [63] Ib. 363.

This rubric is variously interpreted; some supposing that the priest ought to stand before the table only during the time of ordering the elements, while others extend the direction for so standing to the whole prayer and act of consecration.

The Book of 1549 prescribes that this and other parts of the service be said "afore the midst of the altar," or "towards the altar." From 1552 until the last revision, there was no direction on the subject; even the order for taking the paten and chalice into the hands was left out at the instance of Bucer, although the practice continued to be traditionally observed.[64]

I am unable to say whether the custom of consecrating "before the table" was uninterruptedly kept up in any quarter, but strongly suspect that it was not. We find it, however, among the leading churchmen of Charles the First's time, such as Laud, Wren, and Cosin. Wren, when this was charged on him as a crime, replied that he did so only because the elements "stood upon the table further from the end thereof than he, being but low of stature, could reach over his book unto them, and yet still proceed on in reading of the words without stop or interruption."[65] Laud defends himself on similar grounds, with a solemn protestation against the suspicion of any other motives, and speaks with great contempt of the mystical reasons which were imputed to him;[66] and although Cosin had not the physical cause[67] for standing before the altar in the same degree with Laud and Wren, his character forbids us to suppose that he can have considered that position necessary in itself; indeed even a tall man would feel the inconvenience of the other position, if the table were placed, as it was by the school of Laud, with its ends towards the north and south.

The Scotch liturgy of 1637 directs that "the presbyter

[64] Cosin, v. 478.
[65] Parentalia, 103.
[66] Troubles, 116.
[67] See his Works, vol. i. pp. xx. xxiv.

during the time of consecration shall stand at such a part of the holy table where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands."[68] This order sanctions, although it does not plainly enforce, the position in front of the table throughout; and it has been, together with the practice of Laud and his associates, adduced by way of proof that our present rubric, which speaks expressly of "standing before the table," ought to be construed as requiring the priest to remain there while saying the prayer.

On comparing the rubrics, however, we may observe two circumstances in our own which do not appear in the other; viz.—that the priest is to *order* the bread and wine so that he may conveniently reach them; and—that he is to break the bread "before the people." These directions would both be superfluous, if it were intended that he should stand in front of the altar while consecrating; if the second meant no more than that he ought to be seen by the people, while standing in such a position that his action cannot be seen, it is impossible to imagine why it should have been inserted; for it has never been the practice of the Western Church that the priest should himself be out of sight.[69]

John Johnson, while he argues that the standing before the table must be continued throughout the prayer of consecration, adds "What these words *before the table* import, I dare not say; but shall submit that and everything else to your lordship's [Bp. Trimnell's] judgment."[70] Perhaps Johnson may intend some allusion to the fact that in the Nonjurors' Liturgy of 1718, where certain things are ordered to be done "before the altar," or "with the face towards the altar," it is explained that these phrases mean

[68] Keeling, 214. See Laud, Troubles, 117.

[69] [See the strange glosses put on the words "before the people" in the 'Annotated Prayer-Book,' 334.]

[70] Works, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. i. 44.

at the *north side*.[71] And this may be fairly taken as a proof that the position to the west of the holy table had not been used in consecration from the time of the last revision.

Taking into account, therefore, the facts which have here been traced, I believe that the rubric of 1662 was intended to provide against those inconveniences which led some divines of the earlier time to stand before the altar throughout the holy action. The priest, standing before the table, is to order the elements, *i.e.* to remove them to such a place that he may reach them from the north end, without being obliged to provoke captious persons by turning his back on them during the consecration. Thus the interpretation which to me, at least, has always appeared most natural, is confirmed by an inquiry into the history of the rubric.

(*g.*) *The Priest communicating.*

There was, until the last review, no clear direction for the position of the priest while communicating. In the services of the Roman Church, the priest communicates standing;[72] and from one of Cosin's early notes it would appear that such was the usual practice among the clergy of his day, since he reports a puritanical objection to the enforcement of kneeling on the laity, that "They may be as well left to their liberty, and stand, as the minister, when they receive."[73] Cosin himself, however, maintains (contrary, as it seems to me, to the natural construction) that in the rubric of that time, the word *kneeling* "hath reference as well to the minister himself as to the people and other ministers."[74] He inquires accordingly, as Archdeacon of the East Riding (1627) whether the minister communicate kneeling;[75] and inquiries and injunctions of like tenor were issued by other ordinaries, as by Andrewes,

[71] Hall's Fragm. Liturg. v. 10.
[72] Maskell, Ant. Liturgy, ed. 2, p. 123.
[73] Works, v. 105; cf. 112, note. [74] Ib. 112. [75] Ib. ii. 12.

in 1625,[76] by his successor in the see, Curle, in 1637,[77] and by Laud in 1628.[78]

At a later date, Cosin expressed a wish that an order for kneeling should be given, and that words should be prescribed, "lest otherwise some contentious minister should say that he is not enjoined to kneel in this holy action, or to say any words at all when he takes the sacrament."[79] Sancroft's Prayer-Book contains suggestions on both these heads,[80] and at the revision of 1662, the word "kneeling" was changed into "all meekly kneeling;" but no form of words was prescribed for the priest's own use in communicating.

Mr. Crosthwaite, in his learned and valuable essay entitled 'Communio Fidelium,'[81] quotes various liturgies in which words are set down for the priest to say when he receives, without any form to be addressed to the people; it being assumed, apparently, that he would naturally supply this. Many examples of the same kind may be found in Martene; and altogether it appears plain that words ought to be used in both cases.

It is, however, further questioned whether a change of person ought to be made by the priest when he administers the consecrated elements to himself. The Scotch Liturgies, both old and new, the Nonjurors' office of 1718,[82] and the American Liturgy, appear to direct that he shall address himself in the second person. Sancroft's book, however,

[76] Works, xi. 131. [77] Rushworth, ii. 187.

[78] Works, v. 399. There are frequent inquiries whether the priest himself receive "as oft as he administereth." (*e.g.* Andrewes, xi. 115, 131; Laud, v. 424, 440; and many documents in the Appendix to the Second Report of the Ritual Commission.) The propriety of the minister's receiving appears to have been a subject of controversy in Germany more recently. See Olshausen, Bibl. Commentar, ii. 449, ed. 3.

[79] Works, v. 517.

[80] See Cosin, v. 517; [and the Annotated Prayer-Book, p. 189, where it is nevertheless contended that the words "all meekly kneeling" are "hardly likely" to have been intended to include the priest!].

[81] pp. 25-8. [82] Hall, Fragm. Liturg. vol. v.

has the first person; and this is, in so far as I have observed, invariably the case in Martene's documents. The use of the first person, therefore, appears to have a stronger claim on us than the other.

(*h.*) *The Response* AMEN *at Communicating.*

Bishop Andrewes writes "To the prayer *The Blood, &c.* every communicant should say *Amen*, and then, and not before, to take the Sacrament."[83]

For the antiquity of this practice and its universality in ancient liturgies, see Bingham, xv. 5, 8, and L'Estrange, 210. Bishop Montagu inquires whether it be observed. Cosin suggests that it be ordered in the rubric[84] as it had already been in that of the Scotch Book; and Sancroft has a note to the same purpose. Although without such express sanction, it is traditionally followed by many persons, and is recommended in Sparrow's Rationale,[85] and in devotional books of high character, such as Cosin's Devotions, Sherlock's Practical Christian, and the works of Wilson and Lake on the Eucharist.

(*i.*) *Singing or Reading during Communion.*

It appears from L'Estrange and Thorndike,[86] that in their time it was usual to sing psalms while the people were communicating; for which, although it is not prescribed in our Book, they adduce ancient precedents.[87]

The puritanical Bishop Scambler (1571) would have "a minister in the pulpit, reading comfortable scriptures of the Passion or other like, pertaining to the matter in hand."[88] Such seems to have been the custom of Geneva, and of communities formed on the Genevan pattern;[89] and

[83] Works, xi. 157. [84] Works, v. 517. [85] p. 220.
[86] Alliance, 210; Relig. Assemb. c. x. § 105.
[87] See Bona, Rer. Liturg. II. xvii. 1. [88] Strype, Ann. ii. 91.
[89] See Hall, Fragm. Liturg. i. 59, 136.

it was observed in Scotland until the time of the covenant, when an order was made that the reception should be in silence.[90]

The Book of 1549 prescribes that the clerks shall sing at this time the two sentences of the litany which begin "O Lamb of God;" and in Sancroft's notes it is recommended that, in addition to this, certain sentences of Scripture should be read.[91]

At Durham Cathedral, as Dr. Jebb informs us,[92] "a soft symphony is played on the organ" while the communicants receive.

(*k.*) *Use of the "Second Service" on ordinary days.*

A rubric at the end of the communion-office provides that a part of that office shall be used on Sundays and holy-days when there is no communion. The Book of 1549 further required that this "second service" should be said on Wednesdays and Fridays "at the altar"—the priest wearing "a plain albe or surplice, with a cope; and the same order shall be used all other days whensoever the people be customably assembled to pray in the church, and none disposed to communicate with the priest."[93] By this rubric, then, the second service was to be read on all mornings when there was an assembling in the church and none could be found to communicate; *i.e.* on Sundays, holy-days, and litany-days in parish-churches, and every day in cathedrals and such other places as professed, according to another rubric,[94] to celebrate the holy communion daily.

Although no such rule appears in any later Book, we find notices of a daily use of this service in cathedrals. It is prescribed in the 'Reformatio Legum;'[95] and we meet

[90] Sage's works, i. 364, ed. Spottiswoode Soc.
[91] Bulley, 207.
[92] Choral Service, 511.
[93] Keeling, 229-231.
[94] Ib. 178.
[95] p. 88, ed. Cardwell.

with it at Canterbury 1564,[96] at Durham in Cosin's time,[97] and at Winchester, when Laud reformed that cathedral.[98] As the 'Reformatio Legum' did not become law, the practice must have been founded, in those places where it was followed, on special orders or traditions.

When a morning-sermon is preached in parish churches on any ordinary day, the second service ought to be read; such was the order in the fast-book of 1563, and in other special forms, and Bishop Wren requires it in his injunctions.[99]

XVIII.

The Yearly Number of Communions — Communion on Good Friday.

(*a.*)

In order to understand the regulations of the sixteenth century as to the number of times when the Holy Communion ought to be administered, we must look back to the state of things which existed before the Reformation.

From the 4th century downwards, the unwillingness of the people to receive the holy eucharist had been matter of complaint; and canons had been passed with a view of securing some certain amount of periodical reception as a condition of remaining within the communion of the church. By the fourth Council of Lateran, in 1215, the *minimum* of receptions, which had formerly been three a year, was reduced to one a year, for which the Easter season was the appointed time; and hence it came to be believed by the more ignorant people that the yearly communion at Easter was as much as was allowable for a layman. Thus we find the men of Devonshire, who in 1549 made an insurrection against the Reformation, demanding

[96] See p. 53. [97] Works, i. xxv.; Hierurg. Anglic. 38.
[98] Works, v. 478; Heylyn, Laud, 275. See above, p. 133.
[99] Grindal, Remains, 84; Doc. Ann. ii. 200.

as a privilege, "We will have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people."[1] The Reformers, therefore, desired to increase the frequency of communions, and, as they disallowed the solitary reception by the priest, this necessarily involved a decrease in the number of celebrations.

The Liturgy of 1549 kept to the previous custom of requiring "every man and woman" to "communicate once in the year at least,"[2] but by providing for and encouraging a more frequent reception, it provoked the demand which has been quoted from the western insurgents. By the book of 1552 it was required that the yearly number of receptions should be at least three (Easter being one); which of course implies a much more frequent celebration; and this has remained the rule through the later revisions.

> It is ordered by a rubric which dates from 1552, that "in cathedral and collegiate churches, and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons, they shall all receive the communion with the priest every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary."

Although this rubric was then in the Book, the advertisements of 1565 are content to order monthly communion in such places; and such was the practice of Canterbury Cathedral at that time.[3]

In 1571, Grindal enjoined at York—"Ye shall minister the holy communion every month, once at the least, in every of your churches and chapels where ministration of the sacraments is permitted."[4] For the cathedral he prescribes communion on certain principal feasts, and once in every month in which no such feast occurs; leaving the

[1] Cranmer, ii. 173. See also Jewel, i. 637; R. Hutchinson, 220; Pilkington, 542; Becon, ii. 257-260, 456; iii. 380-1, (all ed. Park. Soc.).
[2] Keeling, 235. [3] Strype, Parker, 183. [4] Remains, 124.

question of greater frequency to the "good disposition" of the Chapter.[5]

The rubric as to weekly communion in cathedrals was, however, observed in later times; and the practice seems to have passed away in consequence of the lax notions as to ordinances which followed on the Revolution of 1688; to which notions is also attributed the disuse of weekly communion in London churches.[6]

In the rules for the chapel at Madrid, it was ordered that the communion be "as often as it shall please the Prince to set down." At Holyrood (1633) it was to be monthly;[7] and such was probably the custom of the royal chapels generally.

Bishop Andrewes speaks as follows: "We should continue in this, and the frequenting of it, if not so often as the primitive Church did—which either thrice in the week, or at the furthest once, did communicate—yet as often as the Church doth celebrate; which, I think, should do better to celebrate more often."[8] He does not inform us what was the usual number of celebrations at the date of this sermon (1592), but says as to the prevailing notions, "If it be *panis annuus*, once a-year received, we think our duty discharged." Of Andrewes himself we are told by Bishop Buckeridge, in his Funeral-Sermon, that "after he came to have an episcopal house, with a chapel, he kept monthly communions inviolably, yea, though himself had received at the court the same month." A monthly celebration appears also to have been the practice of Laud in his chapel of Lambeth.[9]

About this time a common form of episcopal inquiry[10] is, whether the communion be administered monthly, or at least so often that each parishioner may receive thrice

[5] Remains, 148.
[6] Life of Kettlewell, p. 90.
[7] Heylyn, Laud, 247.
[8] Sermons, v. 67.
[9] Ib. 296; Rushw. ii. 279.
[10] *e.g.* Bridges, bp. of Oxford, 1604, Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 445.

a-year;[11] in some cases it would seem as if three celebrations yearly (not merely three receptions by every parishioner) were regarded as an allowable minimum. At Little Gidding, the minister of the adjoining parish administered monthly to Ferrar's household; Ferrar himself being only a deacon.[12] Herbert writes, "The parson celebrates it, if not duly once a month, yet, at the least, five or six times in the year, as at Easter, Christmas, Whitsuntide, afore and after harvest, and the beginning of Lent."[13] Hammond "reduced it to an imitation, though a distant one, of the primitive frequency, to once a month."[14] Bishop Cosin, after stating that "2 Edw. VI. [*i.e.* under the Book of 1549] the communion was administered, as it still ought to be in catholic [*qu.* cathedral?] churches, every Sunday at the least,"—gives it as his opinion that in his time "the condition of the Church was not for the present capable of so excellent a custom."[15] Bull's yearly number of celebrations was seven; which, though short of his wishes, is said by his biographer, Nelson, to have been "oftener than is usual in little villages."[16] Kettlewell administered "on Christmas-Day, Good-Friday, Easter-Day, the Sunday after, and Whitsunday; and several times of the year besides."[17] Archbishop Sancroft (1688) orders that it be "in the greater towns once in every month, and even in the lesser too, if communicants may be procured; or however, as oft as they may."[18]

Bishop Blomfield says in his Charge of 1842,[19] "I think that in every parish there ought to be at least monthly communion;"[20] and Bishop Phillpotts considers this

[11] *e.g.* Overall, 1619, ib. 481. Montagu, 1638, asks—"Is this blessed sacrament administered every Sunday, or every month upon the first Sunday of the month; or at least thrice in the year, whereof Easter is one time?" (ib. 583.)

[12] Eccl. Biog. iv. 181. [13] Country Parson, c. 22.

[14] E. B. iv. 322. [15] Works, v. 453. [16] Life, 52.

[17] Life, 24. [18] Doc. Ann. ii. 323. [19] p. 38.

[20] [I do not know whether this standard has been everywhere attained; but within the last quarter of a century the administration of the sacra-

"the very least which ought to satisfy any faithful pastor of the smallest parish."[21]

(*b.*)

Objections are entertained by some persons against the propriety of celebrating the holy communion on Good Friday; and it is also questioned whether the practice be agreeable to the intentions of the Anglican Church. With respect to the question of propriety, I shall content myself with saying that I have not met with any argument sufficient to prove the eucharistic feast inconsistent with the penitential character and exercises of the day. This, however, is chiefly a matter of feeling.

Looking at the present Prayer-Book by itself, we find that everything in it is favourable to communion on the day of the Passion, except the negative fact that this has not, like other days commemorative of great events in the Gospel history, a particular preface appointed for it. This, however, may be sufficiently explained by the circumstance that the other prefaces were translated from Liturgies which contained none for this day.

The custom of omitting communion on Good Friday was of comparatively late origin. Martene,[22] referring to authorities of date from A.D. 600 to 900, shews that it was then usual to communicate on this day, although not, apparently, to consecrate. In monasteries, all the members communicated.[23] Indeed, from some words of Bishop Tonstal[24] and of Harding,[25] it would seem as if even in the sixteenth century the people were allowed to receive, consecration only being forbidden; and there are Roman theologians at this day who wish for a restoration of the general commu-

ment has become more frequent than at any former time since the Reformation; not to speak of those cases in which the principles of our Reformation have been contradicted by the introduction of celebrations without general communion. 1869.]

[21] Charge, 1842, p. 27. [22] iii. 130. [23] Ib. iv. 140.

[24] In Collier, ii. 113. [25] Quoted by Jewel, i. 245, ed. Park. Soc.

nion. Schmid professes himself unable to divine why the priest alone should have the privilege of communicating. "The Eucharist," he writes, "is the bread of our souls; why should there be one day on which we may not receive it?"[26]

If we enter on an argument from probability, we shall be led to expect that the Anglican Reformers would sanction the practice now in question. According to the Roman order, the priest communicates alone, and in one kind, the Host having been consecrated on the preceding day. Is it likely that our Church would discountenance communion more than the Roman? If not, it will follow, that, as she disallows solitary reception, communion in one kind, and reservation of the sacrament, she must approve of a general communicating on this day as on others.

A few facts shall be added to confirm this idea.

The Introits, &c. for Good Friday in the first Book of Edward VI. have the special heading—"At the communion." This seems of itself decisive as to the mind of the compilers.

Rastall, a Romanist, in his answer to Jewel's Challenge, blamed the Reformed Church of England for communicating on this day.[27] Jewel himself says that the Eucharist "may be called the daily bread; not for that it is daily received, but that there is no day excepted, but it may be received every day."[28]

Andrewes, in his first sermon on the Passion, preached on Good Friday, speaks of the administration as about to follow.[29]

Hammond in his last sickness communicated on Good Friday.[30] The Roman Church, indeed, allows the sacrament to be given on this day to persons in extremity; but such was not Hammond's case.

Good Friday was, as we have seen, one of Kettlewell's regular days of administration.

[26] Liturgik, ii. 510. [27] Heylyn, Hist. Ref. 347. [28] i. 169.

[29] Sermons, ii. 134. This passage is pointed out by a writer in Brit. Mag. iv. 58; in which volume some letters on the subject may be found.

[30] Eccl. Biog. iv. 385.

We have, therefore, very sufficient grounds for believing that the practice is sanctioned by our Church; and we have seen also that it has the authority of eminent individual divines; while, of course, those who object to it, whether on the ground of feeling or for any other reason, are not constrained either to administer or to receive.

XIX.

Baptism.

Some of the reasons why Baptism should be administered in public are well set forth in the first rubric before the office for infants. And in addition to these reasons it may be especially considered that it is a work of charity on the part of the congregation to take part in the prayers which are offered up. It is proper, generally, that the office should be introduced into the public service, after the second lesson, as the rubric appoints. In populous town-parishes, the ordinary is the best judge of the matter; but in answer to a common objection it may be observed, that unless the questions be put separately for each child,[1] the difference of time occupied will be trifling, unless the number of receivers be immoderately great.

The number of Godfathers and Godmothers was first fixed by the rubric of 1662. Bishop Wren had before ordered that there should not be more than three sponsors.[2]

[1] Sharp (p. 23) argues that this is necessary. The printing of the Prayer-Book is not quite conclusive for his view; the fact that the order was expressly given in 1549, and has since been omitted, is against it. The strongest argument in its favour is, that in the office for adults, which was added in 1662, it is ordered that each person be questioned "severally." No such order, however, was then given as to children; and it would be easy to point out a difference between the cases sufficient to warrant a variety of practice.

[2] Doc. Ann. ii. 204.

In the ancient Church, only one was required, who was, in the case of adults, to be of the same sex with the person baptized, although no distinction of sex was observed with respect to those who were sureties for infants. Some authorities forbade that more than one should be admitted.[3] The Council of Trent prescribes that there be only one sponsor, or, at most, one of each sex; and proxies for absent sponsors are allowed.[4] The Sarum Manual prescribed one of each sex as the usual number, and forbade that in any case there should be more than three;[5] and a Scotch canon of the thirteenth century ordains that any beyond the number of three shall be considered not as sponsors but as witnesses.[6] Some English councils of the same century laid down the same rule which is now in our Prayer-Book.[7] This limitation of number was intended to prevent the increase of *spiritual affinities*, which are in the Roman communion regarded as a bar to marriage.[8]

The XXIXth canon requires that the sponsors shall have been communicants. Sharp[9] thinks that this must be insisted on, [and it has been deliberately re-enacted by the Convocation of 1865, with the sanction of the Crown]. Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce had before advised that the clergy should *begin* the restoration of the discipline by requiring *one* communicant.[10]

The same canon [in its older form] forbade the admission of fathers to answer for their own children — the reason why there was no similar restriction as to mothers, being manifestly that the baptism was supposed to take place

[3] Bingham, xi. 8. 11. [4] Sess. xxiv. c. 2; Gav. Thes. iii. 73.
[5] Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia, i. 31.
[6] Registrum Eccl. Aberdonensis (published by the Spalding Club), ii. 25.
[7] See Bulley, 231.
[8] Note in Courayer's translation of Fra Paolo, vol. i. p. 395; Schmid, iii. 15; Walter, 575. [9] p. 106.
[10] Charge, 1841. See 'Sponsors for the Poor,' by the Rev. M. Hawtrey, who proposes that the communicants should form themselves into an association for undertaking the much neglected duties of sponsorship.

while the mother is yet unable to leave her house. It is, however, very doubtful whether the object of the canon was that which is usually supposed—the securing of increased spiritual guardianship for the child. It has been shown by Mr. Fallow (author of a valuable work on the Baptismal Offices), that the puritans wished to have children baptized on a profession of the *father's* faith; that as the former words of the service, by which the child was addressed through the sponsors—"Dost *thou* forsake the devil," &c.,—might be misinterpreted so as to accord with this, special means were required to counteract the evasion; that this was the reason why the advertisement of 1565 and the canon of 1604 forbade fathers to be Godfathers to their own children, or that any person should appear to answer for the father in his absence. As then, the service of our present Book secures the same object otherwise, by requiring that the stipulations be made *in the name of the child*, Mr. Fallow concluded that the canon was obsolete; and, as he remarks, it had not that claim on us which belongs to usages of the early Church, since the ancient practice was otherwise.[11] This argument [might even under the old state of the case have been] sufficient to justify a clergyman in dispensing with the canon in cases where a strict enforcement of it would be a prohibition of baptism;[12] [and the difficulty has been removed by the remodelling of the canon in 1865].

The font is, according to canon LXXXI., to be made of stone,[13] and "set in the ancient usual place," *i.e.* near the

[11] Brit. Mag. Feb. 1840.

[12] Ollyffe, in defending the Church of England again Calamy, argues that as a form of private baptism is provided for cases of necessity, and as the refusal of the parents to provide sponsors is a case of necessity, the child may in such circumstances be baptized without sponsors. He argues in the same way as to the use of the cross in baptism. 'Defence of Ministerial Conformity,' 1702, pp. 41, *seqq.*

[13] Ferrar's font was of brass, and was set near the pulpit; "the laver,"

church-door.[14] The bishops at the Savoy Conference refused to concede that it might be placed elsewhere, unless in cases where the people could not hear; in such cases, they would leave the position to the Ordinary.[15]

The rubric directs that it be "filled with pure water," our Church holding with the Roman, "aquam veram et naturalem esse de necessitate sacramenti."[16] Many bishops, from Parker downwards,[17] enjoin "that no pots, pails, or basons be used in it or instead of it,"—such having been a favourite practice of the puritans;[18] and the use of basons is also forbidden by the Advertisements of 1565.[19]

The history of the different manners of administration is given in Wall's 'Defence,' c. v. He refers the introduction of sprinkling to the presbyterians during their ascendency. Taylor, indeed, speaks of sprinkling as the settled practice of his day;[20] but as he translates *perfusus* by *sprinkled*, we may understand him to mean *pouring* rather than *aspersion*, so that his evidence may be reconciled with Wall's opinion.[21] Archdeacon Churton [the elder] contends, and

according to Mr. Lenton, "was of the bigness of a barber's bason." (Eccl. Biog. iv. 249.) This was agreeable to the taste of the puritans, who in 1573 desired the removal of fonts, "and also the brazen eagles, which were ornaments in the chancels, and made for lectures [lecterns?]. As for the eagles, they must be molten, to make pots and basons, for new fonts." (Strype, Parker, 451.)

[14] See Whitgift, ii. 462-3; Cartwright, Second Reply, pt. ii. p. 187.

[15] Cardw. Conf. 324-355-363.

[16] Conc. Trid. Sess. vii. Can. 2, de Bapt.; cf. Martene, i. 48.

[17] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 416, &c.

[18] See Whitgift, iii. 122-3. Mr. Burn, in his History of Parish Registers (1829), quotes from the register of Hillingdon, Middlesex, 1671-2: "The first that in eleven years was baptized with water in the font, the custom being in this place to baptize out of a basin, in the presbyterian manner, only set in the font; which I could never get reformed till I had gotten a new clerk." p. 82.

[19] Doc. Ann. i. 292.

[20] Cranmer, i. 64; Becon, ii. 227; Jewel, i. 223-4; xiv. 62; cf. Hammond, Pract. Catechism, vi. 1; Nicholson on the Catechism, p. 160.

[21] So perhaps it was that the last part of the catechism, in its original form, spoke of "water wherein the person baptized is dipped or *sprinkled* with it" (Keeling, 282), while the offices spoke only of dipping and *pouring*.

apparently with reason, that the Church does not by the word "dip" intend *total* immersion; that to *dip* "is merely to put a body (either some part of it, or the whole), into water, in contradistinction to the applying of water to the body."[22] Martene writes—"Caput praesertim aquis immergebatur."[23] Milan is, according to Schmid, the only Church of the West in which immersion, either total or partial, continues to be practised; affusion being the usual manner of administration in the Roman communion. He considers sprinkling censurable;—"Perhaps it is not valid except when the water runs on the recipient, since it is only in such cases that a washing takes place."[24]

Sharp notes,[25] that in the form for hypothetical baptism, dipping is the only manner of administration mentioned; the child, in the cases for which that form is appointed, being supposed strong enough to bear immersion.

The Book of 1549 required that the child should be thrice dipped—first on the right side; next, on the left; lastly "on the face towards the front, so it be discreetly and warily done;"[26] but no order for the repetition has been given in any of the later Books. Montagu requires it;[27] and Taylor is favourable to it, although he considers it indifferent, and testifies that a single "sprinkling" (see above p. 217) was the custom of his time.[28] Hooker[29] shews that the use of one or of three immersions is indifferent; since either practice may be interpreted soundly, and either may be perverted so as to favour heretical opinions on the doctrine of the Trinity.[30]

[22] Life of Nowell, 187.

[23] i. 50. Bp. Lloyd of St. Asaph, told the commissioners for revision in 1689 that "dipping was still the custom in some parts of Wales; putting in the head, and letting it run over the body." Alterations, p. 100.

[24] i. 386-7. Walter, a Roman Catholic lawyer, says that dipping, affusion, and sprinkling are indifferent, and depend only on the practice of each particular church. Lehrb. des Kirchenrechts, 573.

[25] p. 30. [26] Keeling, 249. [27] p. 72.

[28] xiv. 65-6; cf. xiii. 69. [29] v. 12. 3.

[30] Cf. Martene, i. 50; S. Greg. Magn. Ep. i. 43; Conc. Tolet. iv. can. 6;

Archbishop Peckham directs, A.D. 1281—"Attendant sacerdotes, ne lasciva nomina, quae scilicet, mox prolata, sonent in lasciviam, imponi permittant parvulis baptizatis, sexus praecipue foeminini."[31] The parson, says Herbert, "admits no vain or idle names, but such as are usual and accustomed.[32] So the canonist Ayliffe says, that "The priest may refuse to pronounce the same if the parents or Godfathers do impose or give ludicrous, filthy, or ill-sounding names;"[33] and some articles of the seventeenth century inquire whether "names absurd or inconvenient for so holy an action" be given.[34]

The first rubric before the office for Private Baptism is probably little observed. It certainly cannot plead Catholic sanction, as in ancient times baptism was ordinarily administered only at a particular season in the year.[35] Distance from the church, coldness or wetness of weather, and many family circumstances (besides the natural desire of the mother to witness the admission of her child "into the congregation of Christ's flock"), may surely be "approved by the curate" without express application, as reasons for dispensing with the very early administration of this sacrament which is here prescribed.

Baptism is not to be administered in private houses, unless in cases of necessity; and then only according to the form provided for such occasions. Evelyn shews the prevalence of irregularity in this respect under the Restoration,

Beveridge, Pandect. can. 1, Præf. iv.; Laud against Fisher, sect. xvi. 9. Trine immersion is prescribed in Whiston's Arian service. Hall, Fragm. Liturg. iii. 154.

[31] Gibson, 440. [32] Country Parson, c. 22. [33] Parergon, 105.

[34] *e.g.* Laud, v. 411; Curle, in Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 436; Wren, ib. 557. See curious passages on naming in Jewel on the Sacraments, p. 268; and Fuller, 'Worthies,' Berkshire, p. 110. On the change of names at confirmation, see Maskell, Mon. Ritual. i. Introd. 216-9.

[35] See the rubric before the office until 1662.

(which is confirmed by many passages in Pepys), and also the origin of it. "I urged that when they went about to reform some particulars in the Liturgy, church-discipline, canons, &c., the baptizing in private houses without necessity might be reformed proceeding much from the pride of women, bringing that into custom which was only indulged in case of imminent danger, and out of necessity during the Rebellion and persecution of the clergy in the late civil wars. To this they [Archbishop Sancroft, and Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph] heartily assented, and promised their endeavours to get it reformed, utterly disliking it as novel and indecent."[36] The rubric, however, as it was and still remains, appears sufficiently stringent.

The Sarum Manual allows chamber-baptism in the case of royal and princely infants, and this was according to the general practice of the middle ages.[37]

Attempts are often made to combine the service for Public Baptism with that for receiving into the congregation infants who have been privately baptized. No combination can be made, however, without destroying the significant differences of the two offices, in which the Church's view of the sacrament is remarkably shown. Nor, again, is it desirable that each should be gone through at full length in the same service. Perhaps, therefore, the best way of managing the matter may be by arranging that children in the two states shall be brought at different times; which may easily be done if previous notice be required, as the rubric directs.

It is to be observed, that throughout the office for baptism

[36] Diary, Apr. 12, 1689. This and similar irregularities are very common in the Roman communion, the clergy in many places not daring to withstand them. (Schmid, iii. 60.) As to the practice among the Lutherans, see Daniel, Cod. Liturg. ii. 203, *seqq.*

[37] Maskell, Mon. Rit. i. 29; Martene, i. 10. The words in the Sarum book are "filius regis vel principis;" the present Roman Ritual makes an exception in favour of children, "regum et *magnorum* principum," provided that the baptism be administered in their private chapels or oratories. See Bulley, 228.

of adults, the officiating person is styled *Priest*; and that deacons at their ordination receive authority only to baptize *infants*, and that "in the absence of the priest." This is agreeable to the Roman rule, which, although it allows of baptism by lay persons in case of necessity, forbids deacons to baptize if a priest be present.[38] The limitation of the deacon's function, as well as the office for adults, was added at the last review.

XX.

Catechizing.

A valuable collection of Documents and Authorities on Public Catechizing was published in 1840, by the Rev. John Ley, of Exeter College, Oxford. His authors insist much on the importance of the exercise; they see in a right grounding by these means the best hope of building up our people in the truth, and guarding them against the errors[1] which may prevail around us: and they show very sufficiently (what might be abundantly confirmed from other quarters[2]), that to the ignorance arising from neglect of this solid instruction many serious evils may be traced.[3]

Edward the Sixth's first Book ordered public catechizing once in six weeks at least, half an hour before evensong, on some Sunday or holy-day. The Book of 1552, and all

[38] Gibson, 444; Walter, 573.

[1] "Though sermons give most *sail* to men's souls, catechizing layeth the best *ballast* in them, keeping them from being carried away with every wind of doctrine." Fuller, Worthies, p. 97. (Compare his character of "The Faithful Minister" in 'The Holy State.')

[2] Leighton's Charges may be referred to in particular, as shewing the wretched state into which a people may fall under a system of excessive preaching combined with a lack of catechizing. See too South, iii. 401, ed. Oxf. 1823.

[3] Thus a homily, issued by authority, on occasion of an earthquake in 1580, complains that through want of catechizing many had fallen away to popery or atheism. Liturg. Eliz. ed. Park. Soc. 574.

since, direct the curate to catechize "diligently upon Sundays and holy-days." Bishop Cosin remarks that this does not prescribe it for every such day, but only "as often as need requires, according to the largeness or number of children in his parish;"[4]—which is true;—but as Wheatley observes, "how to reconcile the LIXth canon to this exposition of the rubric, I am at a loss;"[5] since that canon orders the exercise to be used on *every* Sunday and holy-day. The 'Reformatio Legum' assigns the first hour of the afternoon in city-parishes to catechizing—from which the people are to proceed to sermon in the cathedral at two o'clock.[6] The injunctions of 1559 have "every holy-day and every second Sunday."[7]

It would seem that in the early years of Elizabeth the rubric was very imperfectly obeyed; since among matters to be moved in the convocation of 1562 we find—"That all parsons, &c., every Sunday and holy-day do at afternoon offer themselves to teach the catechism to the youth of the parish, and take witness thereof of the churchwardens and sidemen, upon pain to forfeit for every time that they do neglect so to do 3*s*. 4*d*."[8]

The canon of 1571 orders that the clergy "omnibus Dominicis et festis diebus statim a meridie praesto erunt in templis, ibique minimum ad duas horas legent et docebunt catechismum."[9] We find a variety in the orders of various bishops on the subject; sometimes the catechizing is to be "before," sometimes "before or after," sometimes "before or at" evening prayer; and the duration is from "half an hour or more" to "one hour at the least."[10]

In 1622, James I. issued injunctions that no afternoon sermon should be preached "but upon some part of the catechism, or some text taken out of the creed, ten com-

[4] Works, v. 491. [5] c. viii. s. 2. [6] p. 92, ed. Cardwell.
[7] Doc. Ann. i. 195. [8] Synodalia, 504. [9] Ib. 121.
[10] *e.g.* Hooper, Later Writings, 126; Grindal, Remains, 124-162; Bancroft's Articles, 1604 and 1605; Laud's, for Worcester, 1635; Articles for the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, 1636.

mandments, or the Lord's Prayer, funeral-sermons only excepted; and that those preachers be most encouraged and approved who spend the afternoon exercise in the examination of children in their catechism, and in the expounding of the several points and heads of the catechism, which is the most ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England."[11] To revive the catechetical instruction was one of Laud's chief objects; and of course the attempts at it were among the grounds of complaint against him and his brethren. In 1662, it was ordered that the catechizing should be introduced into the service, after the second lesson; and there can be no reasonable doubt that this new rubric was intended to supersede that part of the LIXth canon which orders that it should be *before* evening prayer. It was hoped that the alteration would draw the people to catechism; but it had the effect of driving them away from the prayers.[12]

As to the persons to be catechized, it is ordered, that "all fathers, mothers, masters, and dames, shall cause their children, servants, and apprentices (which have not learned their catechism)" to come to church and be thus instructed. For the words of the parenthesis, the Book of 1549 had—"which are not yet confirmed." The alteration was made in consequence of Bucer's suggestion that "many are confirmed young, and before they understand their catechism, at least, though peradventure they can repeat the words of it."[13] It appears, therefore, that the curate may continue to catechize those who have received confirmation.

A canon of 1571 orders that the clergy catechize "omnes suos omnium aetatum atque ordinum; non tantum puellas aut pueros, sed etiam, si opus erit, grandiores."[14] Even our most rigid disciplinarians would hardly attempt to act on

[11] Doc. Ann. ii. 149. See the sermon preached at St. Paul's Cross by Donne, in enforcement of these orders, No. clv. ed. Alford.

[12] Nicholls on the rubric at the end of the Catechism.

[13] Cosin, v. 488.

[14] Synodalia, 121.

this order to the full in the present day. Bishop Parkhurst in 1561 had desired the clergy not to perform the marriage ceremony unless the parties could say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; and to "require the young folks unmarried to resort to the hearing of the children examined, to the intent that they by hearing may learn [the catechism], and thereby (besides discharge of their duty towards God) avoid worldly rebuke and shame which should happen to them if they should be rejected from marriage for ignorance of the Christian faith."[15]

Nicholls tells us, that before the Great Rebellion the children were catechized on Saturdays, and the youth on Sundays.[16]

It does not appear that catechetical instruction must necessarily be uninteresting to the hearers, or a severe tax on their patience and charity.[17] Rubrics, canons, and other documents throughout suppose something different from a mere asking the questions and receiving the prescribed answers.[18] Whitgift, in 1591, charges that the clergy

[15] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 401.

[16] Note at end of Catechism.

[17] One of our ablest living prelates speaks thus of catechizing: "It is probably never more likely to answer these ends [of benefiting the young] and at the same time to strengthen the attachment of those of riper years to the Church, than where such instruction is given, according to the intention of the Church, in the presence of the congregation. I am convinced that many of our churches would be much better attended, if this practice were revived." (Charge to the Clergy of St. David's, 1842.)

[18] We find, indeed, that the bishops of Laud's school are charged by the committee of 1641 with "prohibiting the ministers to expound the catechism at large to their parishioners" (Cardw. Conf. 273); and that a puritan of the same time reports as to Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells—"I heard him say to his registrar, that, whereas information had been given concerning certain ministers, that they expounded upon the catechism, that information was too narrow to catch them, and therefore it should have run thus—That they catechized or expounded upon the catechism *sermonwise*,—and then they would have been obnoxious to censure." (Nalson, ii. 413.) But it is evident, from the words *at large* in the first extract, and from the distinction in the other, that the forbidden expounding must have been something of a peculiar kind. And this is illustrated by the fact, that Bishop Wren, after having enjoined that the minister "catechize according to the questions

"expound and examine."[19] The directions of 1622 allow in the afternoon sermons in exposition of the catechism.[20] To the same purpose speak many others.[21] Herbert prescribes both questioning and exposition.[22] Usher ordered his biographer, Bernard, to use both;[23] and such was Kettlewell's practice.[24] Bishop Ken's expositions of the catechism excited great interest, and were resorted to by persons of the highest distinction.[25]

It appears, that the proper place for the clergyman at examination is the desk; in lecturing on the catechism, the pulpit.

XXI.

Sermons.

A few more passages may be here collected, to help towards determining a question which some things in the preceding section bear on; viz. whether sermons be allowable except

of the Church catechism only" (Doc. Ann. ii. 205), states in his Defence, that he wished to guard against pretended compliance, and the use of unauthorised catechisms; that he always recommended *real* explanation, and directed how it might be managed most to edification. (Parentalia, 85.) I conceive, therefore, that the words of his injunction are intended only to confine the clergy to the *subjects* and the *doctrines* of the catechism, whereas some might have wished to run out into that kind of preaching which is forbidden in the declaration prefixed to the XXXIX. Articles. And on the same principle we may interpret the other passages.

[19] Doc. Ann. ii. 24. [20] Ib. 149.

[21] *e.g.* Abbot, ib. 153; Laud and Charles I. (Laud's Troubles, 562; Montagu, p. 60; Charles II. (Doc. Ann. ii. 257); Sheldon, Sancroft, and Tenison (ib. 286, 323, 335).

[22] Country Parson, chapters 5 and 21. [23] Eccl. Biog. i. 438.

[24] He began to catechize in Lent, and continued several Sundays after that season. It was his practice to preach in the afternoon on texts "that should lead him in again to the same matter" (Life, 23-4). See also Towerson, in Ley, p. 25.

[25] See a letter from the Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne, requesting that a place might be reserved for her when Ken was to expound, in his Works, ed. Round, p. 208.

in the communion-service, to which the rubric is supposed by some to limit them.[1]

1550. Bishop Ridley, by desire of the council, puts a stop to week-day lecturing in Essex, and orders that sermons be "only upon Sundays and holy-days, and none other days, except it be at any burial or marriage."[2] Perhaps we may fairly suspect that this limitation of sermons was connected with some apprehension as to the character of the teaching contained in them.

We see by Latimer's practice (*e.g.* in his sermons for the 24th Sunday after Trinity, and the first and second of those on the Lord's Prayer) that sermons in the afternoon as well as the forenoon were usual in that age.

The 'Reformatio Legum' is full and various in its provisions on this head. Of cathedrals it is said—"Conciones in his ecclesiis antemeridianas sane omnes tollimus, ne quisquam illarum occasione legitimae desit suae ecclesiae." In all parish-churches there was to be a sermon in the morning; in city parishes, the afternoon was to begin with catechizing for an hour; from this, the people were to resort to sermon in the cathedral, which was to be at two o'clock; after which the evensong of the cathedral was to follow, while the people from the various parishes returned to be present at service in their several churches. In the country, curates were to preach in the morning-service; in the afternoon, they were to catechize, to preach, and finally to read the evening-prayer.[3] The regulations for cities must probably have been found impracticable, if this code had ever been enacted. In cathedrals there were also to be expositions of scripture thrice a week.

According to the royal injunctions of 1559[4] the clergy were to read a homily in the communion-office on Sundays, if there were no sermon; and on holy-days, as a substitute for a sermon, they were to read the Creed, the Lord's

[1] [Although this scruple appears to be no longer felt, I have retained this section as a contribution towards the history of preaching. 1869].

[2] Doc. Ann. i. 86. [3] pp. 89–94, ed. Cardwell. [4] Doc. Ann. i. 181.

Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the pulpit, for the instruction of their parishioners. Grindal's orders, both at York, 1571, and at Canterbury, five years later, are in accordance with this.[5] The homilies were, according to a canon of 1571[6] to be read "de scripto."

1563. The preface to the second book of Homilies directs the clergy, "where the homily may appear too long for one reading, to divide the same, to be read part in the forenoon and part in the afternoon."

We may, as it seems to me, pretty surely conclude that the licensed preachers who were sent through the kingdom in those times did not confine their preaching to the mornings of Sundays and holy-days.[7]

Sermon or homily on Wednesdays and Fridays is mentioned in various orders of prayer set forth during Elizabeth's reign on occasion of public calamities—*e.g.* the plague of 1563[8] and the earthquake of 1580.[9]

Under Edward VI. there was a sermon at Court every Sunday;[10] but Elizabeth heard sermons only on the Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of Lent, at which season alone preaching had been anciently used at Court[11]—"our ancestors," says Chamberlayne, with apparent gravity,[12] "judging that time enough to teach such an audience their duty to God and man." The court-sermon was in the afternoon. James I. transferred the Wednesday sermon to Tuesday, the day of the week on which he had escaped from the Gowrie conspiracy, and appointed a sermon on every Tuesday through the year. Laud restored the old order in Lent, but left the Tuesday sermon at other times.[13]

[5] Remains, 127–161. [6] Synod. 121.

[7] [Archdeacon Harrison (p. 65) infers the contrary from Ridley's orders for Essex, and, although not convinced, I have, out of regard for his opinion, expressed myself less confidently than before.]

[8] Grindal Rem. 84. [9] Clay on the C. P. 190.

[10] Heylyn, Hist. Ref. p. 95.

[11] Heylyn, Laud, 126; Hist. Ref. 296; cf. Hooper, Early Writings, p. 558.

[12] Angliae Notitia, ed. 3. p. 232. [13] Heylyn, Laud, 313.

Bishop Buckeridge reports of Andrewes that "he would be bold with himself, and say, when he preached twice a day at St. Giles' [Cripplegate, of which he became vicar in 1589], he prated once." [14]

1622. In the directions for catechizing, exception is made in favour of funeral sermons.[15]

1629. Laud, then Bishop of London, proposed to the King that the orders of 1622 be enforced; "if this cannot be, then that every bishop ordain in his diocese, that every lecturer do read Divine service in his surplice before the lecture." [16] Royal orders were issued accordingly, 1633, by which catechizing is prescribed "wheresoever there is not some great cause apparent, to break this ancient and laudable order." [17] In answer to a question from the archbishop, with regard to the diocese of Peterborough (1639), Charles I. wrote "So that catechizing be first duly performed, let them have a sermon after, if they desire it." [18]

1636. Bishop Wren says that "sermons are required by the Church only upon Sundays and holy-days in the forenoon, and at marriages; and are permitted at funerals." He forbids all others, unless there be express allowance; for granting of which, however, he seems to suppose his own authority sufficient.[19]

The afternoon lecturers of this age, although it was held

[14] Andrewes' Sermons, v. 295.

[15] Doc. Ann. ii. 149. We may be surprised to find that the custom of funeral-sermons was once in disfavour with puritans. The Warwickshire classis resolved in 1589—"The preachers must leave off by little and little to preach at burials, lest thereby they nourish the superstition of some men, or give over themselves to the preservation of vanity." Bancr. Dang. Pos. b. iii. c. 10, comp. Hooker, v. 75; Cartwright, in Whitgift, iii. 362–3. Cartwright says that "burial sermons are put in place of trentals;" and this is countenanced by such facts as that an Earl of Bedford, in 1585, left twenty pounds for twenty sermons to be preached within five months after his death. Becon, ii. 622.

[16] Rushworth, ii. 7.

[17] Doc. Ann. ii. 178.

[18] Laud, v. 368.

[19] Doc. Ann. ii. 206.

necessary to check them as the chief fomenters of puritanism, were not put down, but only restrained in their range of subjects, as we have already seen.

1662. Act of Uniformity, § xxii.:—"At all and every time when any sermon or lecture is to be preached, the common prayers and service in and by the book appointed to be read for that time of the day, shall be openly, publicly, and solemnly read." This is the act by which the authority of the state is given to our present Prayer-Book. The reader will observe that it contemplates sermons in the evening. Lectures on week-days are also allowed by § xix.

Pocock had two sermons on Sunday, in addition to catechizing, "when the length of days would permit him."[20] Bull[21] established at Avening a sermon on Thursday, with catechizing. He also preached twice on Sundays.[22] Kettlewell's practice we have seen already under the head of Catechizing.

Evelyn writes Aug. 14, 1681—"No sermon this afternoon, which, I think, did not happen twice in this parish these thirty years." From his diary throughout, and from that of his contemporary Pepys, we learn that afternoon-sermons were usual in the age of the last revision of the Liturgy.

On the whole, we may perhaps conclude, that the Prayer-Book was never understood to prescribe for churches and chapels of all kinds an uniform order of sermon in the morning of Sundays and holy-days, and peremptorily to forbid preaching at any other time; that sermons and lectures on the afternoons of such days, and at other times, are tolerable, though not commanded; and that the Bishop's authority has always been held sufficient to regulate the practice, so as to sanction what the Prayer-Book does not prescribe.

[20] Life, pp. 92-345, ed. 1816. [21] Life, 307. [22] Ib. 48.

XXII.

Matrimony.

In the Prayer-Books, before the revision of 1662, it was ordered that "the banns must be asked three several Sundays or holy-days, in the time of service, the people being present." At the last revision, it was appointed that the publication should take place "immediately before the sentences for the offertory." Lord Hardwicke's Act, 26 Geo. II. c. 33, directed that "the banns shall be published upon three Sundays during the time of morning-service, or of the evening-service, if there be no morning-service in such church or chapel on any of those Sundays, immediately after the second lesson." The object of this act was to prevent clandestine marriages, for which purpose the existing laws had been found insufficient."[1] Hence the proclamation on holy-days, not being Sundays, was no longer allowed, as it would not have secured due publicity. Where there should be no morning-service, publication in the evening-service was allowed; and at the same time it was declared that marriages should be void unless preceded by banns or license, whereas marriages contracted without these formalities had previously been valid.[2] The words of the act have been commonly supposed to mean that, whether published at morning or at evening service, the banns should be immediately after the second lesson; and in accordance with this view the rubric has been altered in most Prayer-Books printed since 1810, when the change is said to have been introduced at the Oxford University press.[3] It is, however, held by some lawyers that Lord Hardwicke's act was intended

[1] For an account of the monstrous abuses which then existed, see Mr. J. S. Burn's History of Parish-Registry, 16-118, *seqq.*, and his History of Fleet Marriages.

[2] See Burn, Art. *Marriage*.

[3] Bp. of Exeter's Speech in the House of Lords, Feb. 27, 1845.

to fix the time of publication in the evening-service only, and does not affect the rubric which orders that, when published in the morning, the banns shall immediately precede the offertory; while some persons seem to catch at the alleged ambiguity as a pretext for disregarding the act of the secular legislature.[4] It may be well to remember that that act was passed in the interest of morality and social order; and that the restriction of banns to the communion-office cannot be regarded as essential in the Church's view, inasmuch as it dates only from 1662.

"A clergyman is not at liberty to marry a couple during the same service in which the banns are asked for the third time"[5]

The LXIInd canon orders that marriage shall be "in time of Divine service,"—a rule which is now probably little regarded. Archdeacon Sharp, in his 12th Charge, traces the neglect of this canon to the example of bishops in uniting parties of rank or importance, and the granting of licenses. If, it was argued, persons in higher life may be dispensed with, why not others likewise? And hence followed general disregard.

Bishop Cosin[6] observes that "it is not ordered at what time of the service this form of marriage shall be celebrated." Bishop Wren may perhaps be taken to express the most correct usage, in ordering that after morning-prayer "the marriage be begun in the body of the church, and finished at the table."[7]

This brings us to the consideration of *place*. Wren's injunction is in exact accordance with the rubric, which orders that the first part of the service be gone through in

[4] The editor of the 'Annotated Prayer-Book' seems to think that publication of banns on holy-days, which are not Sundays, is still legal, p. 262.

[5] This answer was given by Archbishop Howley, after consulting "the highest [legal] authority," to a question submitted to him by some clergymen of the archdeaconry of Maidstone, 1841.

[6] Works, v. 523.

[7] Doc. Ann. ii. 203.

the body of the church, and the concluding part at the holy table; while the psalm which intervenes between the two is to be said or sung by "the minister or clerks going to the Lord's table." Any doubt which might be felt as to the meaning of this last order is removed by a reference to the first Prayer-Book of King Edward, and to the service-books which were in use before the Reformation.[8] The psalm, therefore, ought most properly to be said during the advance from the body of the church; and it appears that this order was observed in Hooker's time.[9]

Andrewes at Jesus Chapel consecrated specially "locum nuptiarum."[10]

Bishop Montagu asks[11]—"Are there any married without a ring, joining of hands, or the fees laid down on the book?" As he does not put any question about the place of matrimony, we may conclude either that the rubric now under consideration was never transgressed in his day, or (which is perhaps more likely), that he did not consider the breach of it important.

The presbyterians after the Restoration desire that the order for a change of place should be omitted. The episcopal commissioners reply, "They go to the Lord's table because the communion is to follow."[12]

There is reason to believe that the rubrics as to place have always been observed in some churches.

[8] Rubric, 1549. "Then shall they go into the quire, and the minister or clerks shall say or sing this psalm following." Aless' translation—"Tunc ingrediantur chorum, ministris aut clericis canentibus [*recitantibus* in the Latin book of Elizabeth] psalmum." The Sarum and York books have *in eundo*. (See Palmer, ii. 215; Maskell, Marum. Rit. i. 49.) The earlier part of the service was then in the church-porch. There is no direction on this point in the present Roman Ritual, and the usual place of marriage is the presbytery, or before one of the altars. (Schmid, iii. 355.)

[9] v. 30. 5; see also Whitgift, ii. 461-3.

[10] Sparrow, 398. [11] p. 74. [12] Cardw. Conf. 330-360.

XXIII.

Prayers for the Sick—Communion of the Sick.

(*a.*)

Bishop Wren directs[1] "that when any need is, the sick by name be prayed for in the reading-desk, and nowhere else, at the close of the first service, except it be in the afternoon, and then to be done immediately after the creed; using only those two collects which we [*qu.* be?] set down in the Service-Book for the Visitation of the Sick." In his answer when impeached, he says that this was the custom of Westminster Abbey, "and also it seemeth to be intended by James,[2] bishop of Winton, by his articles, 1617. But howsoever (as he humbly conceiveth), it was by law left to be ordered by the direction of the ordinary."[3]

Wren's object was to check the extravagances of the popular preachers, who used to introduce the sick (with very many other subjects) into their pulpit prayers.[4] From the mention of Westminster, we may probably conclude that Andrewes, who had been Dean of the Abbey Church, sanctioned the practice for which his former chaplain was called in question.

Agreeably to this, it is related incidentally of Hammond, that "a neighbour lady languishing under a long weakness, he took care that the Church office for the sick should be daily said in her behalf." This was in his own chamber, A.D. 1660, when the use of the liturgy was not yet restored in churches.[5] We may reasonably infer that he considered the introduction of the collects into the public service lawful. But as the Prayer for all sorts and conditions of

[1] Doc. Ann. ii. 203.

[2] Montagu (a different person from Montagu, bishop of Norwich, who is more frequently mentioned in these pages).

[3] Parentalia, 91.

[4] See Heylyn's Tracts, p. 156.

[5] Eccl. Biog. iv. 384.

men, with the opportunity which it gives of putting up a petition for the sick, has since been introduced into our book, the reason for such use of the collects seems to have been removed.[6]

The XXIIIrd of the present Scotch canons allows the public use of collects from the offices for the sick.

(*b.*)

The term *sick* in the title of the communion-office may be interpreted by means of the LXXIst canon, which allows the eucharist to be privately administered to persons "either so impotent as that they cannot go to church, or very dangerously sick." In like manner, the 'Reformatio Legum,' after forbidding communion in private houses, adds—"Aegrotantibus tamen et vehementer debilitatis coenam Domini flagitantibus negari nolumus."[7]

It was ordered in the Book of 1549, that the office should be used "afore noon." This order does not appear in later books.

The dress to be used at the administration appears, by virtue of the general rubric which orders that the ornaments of 2 Edward VI. be retained, to come under the order of that year which directs that "in all other places [besides churches and chapels] every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no."[8]

It seems to be held both by the presbyterians and by the church-divines of 1661, that, according to the rubric, the minister may not refuse the communion to a sick person.[9] The latter say, in answer to objections, "It is not fit the minister should have the power to deny this viation [*qu.* viaticum?], or holy communion, to any that humbly

[6] It appears from the Annotated Prayer-Book, p. 288, that the last revisers declined a suggestion of Bp. Cosin for the public use of part of the visitation-service.

[7] p. 95, ed. Cardwell.

[8] Keeling, 356.

[9] Cf. Andrewes' Works, xi. 19.

desire it according to the rubric; which no man disturbed in his wits can do, and whosoever does, must in charity be presumed to be penitent, and fit to receive."[10] The presbyterians observe on this[11]—"There is no condition mentioned in the rubric, but that he be desirous to receive the communion in his house; *humbly* is not there." Neal mentions as one of the alterations of 1662, that "the minister is not enjoined to administer the sacrament to every sick person that shall desire it, but only as he shall judge expedient."[12] I cannot see any change to this effect; perhaps the writer may have confounded this subject with that of the Absolution in the Visitation-office, where the words "if he humbly and heartily desire it" were then inserted.

XXIV.

Churching of Women.

Archbishop Grindal enjoins at York, 1571, "Ye shall not church any unmarried woman, which hath been gotten with child out of lawful matrimony, except it be upon some Sunday or holy-day, and except either she, before her childbirth, have done due penance for her fault, to the satisfaction of the congregation, or at her coming to be churched she do openly acknowledge her fault before the congregation accordingly, and show herself to be very penitent for the same, leaving it free for the ordinary to punish her further at his discretion."[1] He inquires to the same effect at Canterbury, 1576.[2]

Whitgift, 1585, requires of a woman in such circumstances "public acknowledgment of her sin, in such form as the ordinary has prescribed;"[3] and in like manner it is usual in episcopal articles of the 16th and 17th centuries to

[10] Cardw. Conf. 332-361.
[11] Grand Debate, p. 143.
[12] Hist. of Puritans, iii. 96.
[1] Remains, 127.
[2] Ib. 164.
[3] Doc. Ann. ii. 6.

suppose that such women must either do public penance, or produce a license from the ordinary.[4] It is to be observed that the language of such passages in general applies to all cases where a child is the fruit of unlawful intercourse, although a marriage between the parents may have taken place before the birth.

To the demand of the presbyterians at the Savoy Conference, that something should be required of an unmarried or adulterous woman after childbirth, "by way of profession of her humiliation, as well as of her thanksgiving," the episcopal divines reply that such a person "is to do her penance before she is churched."[5] The presbyterians treat this answer as delusive.—"That is," they say, "if she be accused, prosecuted, and judged by the Bishop's Court to do penance first, which happeneth not to one of a multitude; and what shall the minister do with all the rest?"[6]

Cosin, although in his notes he cites Grindal as sufficient authority for refusing the office unless penance be performed,[7] has no inquiry on the subject in his articles, 1662; Gunning in 1679 requires a license from the ordinary as a condition before churching.

The reader has doubtless remarked that the representation of the matter given by the presbyterians is very different from that in the episcopal injunctions and articles; according to the latter, the minister is not at liberty to read the service unless the woman produce license from the ordinary, while the presbyterians state that he is not warranted in refusing unless she have been convicted in the ecclesiastical court.

As women in the circumstances which we are considering were then liable to prosecution in the spiritual court, it

[4] See Andrewes, xi. 133; Laud, v. 416, 426, 442; Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 127, 433, 441, 452, 454, 507, &c. Sharpe, archdeacon of Berks, 1615, requires that the woman should appear in a white sheet, or other habit prescribed by the ordinary, ib. 469.

[5] Cardw. Conf. 334-362.

[6] Grand Debate, 147.

[7] Works, v. 499.

would seem that, even according to the presbyterian statement, a clergyman had sufficient means of deterring any such person from insisting that he should read the service without having reason to believe her penitent. But this discipline appears to be interfered with by the statute 27 Geo. III. c. 44, which enacts that "no suit shall be brought in any ecclesiastical court for fornication or incontinence after the expiration of eight calendar months after the time when such offence shall have been committed; nor for fornication at any time after the parties shall have lawfully intermarried." [8]

The reader is now in possession of all that I have noted on this subject; it has seemed better to produce it than to leave the matter unnoticed, although, from ignorance of law, I am unable to draw a conclusion.

I must also profess myself unable to enter on the subject of penance. There is a form in Grindal's Remains, which the Archbishop, according to Strype, laid before the convocation. The historian, however, does not state whether it was authorized by that body.[9]

The words "decently apparelled," which were inserted at the last review, are interpreted to mean "with a white covering or veil." Such was the practice before the Reformation; puritans complain of it as still prevailing in Elizabeth's time;[10] and it is a subject of inquiry in episcopal and other articles.[11] In the reign of James I., the

[8] Burn, ii. 403.

[9] Grindal, Rem. 455; Strype's Grindal, 260. See a section on Penance, in the supplement to Sir W. Palmer's 'Origines Liturgicae.' The discipline of the Romish Church as to this point is in many places very lax (Schmid, iii. 385); indeed it would appear that, in countries of that communion generally, the civil power and the popular feeling are as little favourable to the enforcement of penance and excommunication as among ourselves. (Ib. i. 738.)

[10] See Cartwright, in Whitgift, ii. 536; Burnet, Hist. Ref. iii. Records, p. 335.

[11] *e.g.* Rit. Comm. Rep. 485, 520; Laud, v. 449, 627, &c.

chancellor of Norwich made an order that every woman should be veiled at her churching; and when a woman, who was excommunicated for contempt of this order, prayed a prohibition, it was refused by the judges, as they were certified by the bishops that the order was according to the ancient usage of the Church of England.[12]

The most proper place for this service is the chancel, "where," say the bishops in 1661, "she may be perspicuous to the whole congregation, and near the holy table, in regard of the offering she is there to make."[13] To say the service in the desk, the woman remaining in her seat, was noted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as puritanical.[14] It is to be observed, however, that the rubric of 1552 prescribed "some convenient place, nigh unto the place where the table standeth,"[15] and that the priest should stand by her; whereas the present rubric leaves the matter to custom and the ordinary's direction. Andrewes at Jesus Chapel churched a woman "ad limen cancellorum" (which was agreeable to the rubric of 1549—"nigh unto the quire door"); Montagu[16] orders that the place be "before the communion table, at the steps or rail."

Bishop Wren enjoins—"that the churching begin as soon as the minister comes up to the communion-table, before the second service, unless there be a marriage that same day; for then the churching is not to begin until those prayers appointed to be said at the Lord's table for the marriage be ended;"[17] and Bishop Sparrow tells us that other visitation articles agree in this.[18] The office used formerly to be restricted to the morning-service. In Sharp's time it was commonly used on week-days before

[12] Gibson, 451. [13] Card. Conf. 362.

[14] See Whitgift, ii. 557-9; Strype, Whitg. 141; Collier, ii. 624; and Montagu's Articles.

[15] In an account-book of Crundale, Kent, is an entry of 1626, "Paid for a childwife pew, 26*s.* 6*d.*"

[16] p. 78. [17] Doc. Ann. i. 203. [18] p. 291.

the general thanksgiving; on Sundays, after the Nicene creed.[19]

A complaint has been made by some declamatory writers that the "offering to God" at churching has been corrupted into a "fee to the priest." It is necessary, therefore, to inquire in what sense the word *offering* is here used.

The Book of 1549 orders that "the woman who is purified must offer her chrism and other accustomed offerings." The chrism was the white vesture which had been put upon the child at baptism.[20] When the use of this was abandoned, in 1552, it was no longer mentioned in the rubric; but in 1561 we find among the Bishops' interpretations of the royal injunctions the following direction—"To avoid contention, let the curate have the value of the chrisom, not under the value of 4*d.*, and above as they may agree and as the state of the parents may require."[21] This appears to be a rule for the amount of the offering at churching.

In answer to Cartwright, who had attempted to fasten some Jewish or popish sense on the word *offering*, Whitgift writes, "The paying of her accustomed offerings hath no such intent or purpose; for she payeth to the curate his accustomed duty. It is a portion of the pastor's living appointed and limited unto him by the Church."[22]

[19] p. 72.

[20] A.D. 1236 it was ordered—"Panni chrismales non nisi in usum ornamentorum ecclesiae convertantur;" *i.e.* as Lyndewood explains, they were only to be used for making or repairing vestments, covering up plate or crucifixes, and the like purposes. (Gibson, 224.) The money for which the chrism was afterwards commuted, however, is not subject to any such regulations, and the "other accustomed offerings" probably always belonged to the priest. In the present Roman Ritual it is directed that the priest shall put on the child's head "linteolum candidum, loco vestis albae." Brand quotes from Morant's Essex, and from Lewis's Hist. of Thanet, passages which show a custom of giving the minister a white cambric handkerchief as an offering (ii. 52). This seems to have been a remnant of the older usage as to the chrism.

[21] Doc. Ann. i. 206.

[22] Works, ii. 559.

Hooker[23] and L'Estrange[24] are also evidences that the offering made on these occasions belongs to the minister.

We have already had occasion to see[25] that the dues of the clergy are sometimes intended by the words *offering* or *oblation;* indeed it would appear from Gibson and Burn that the term *fee* properly signifies money paid to persons connected with spiritual courts, while that which is given to the clergy for performance of offices is styled by some other name.[26] Archbishop Mepham, in 1328, says that at marriages, churchings, and burials, "ipse Dominus in ministrorum suorum personis solebat oblationum libamine populariter honorari;"[27] and in like manner Andrewes observes on the old rubric of the communion-office which directed that dues should be paid "on the offering-days appointed"—"They should not pay it to the curate alone, but to God upon the altar, from whence the curate has his warrant to take it, as deputed by Him, and as the Apostle plainly alludes, 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14; Heb. xiii. 13."[28]

While, therefore, the writers to whom I have alluded are in so far right that the money ought most properly to be offered on the altar, it is an utter mistake to suppose that it is misappropriated in being applied to the maintenance of the priest; but there can, of course, be no objection to the expression of gratitude to God on occasions of deliverance "from the great pain and peril of childbirth" by an offering for pious uses, in addition to the customary dues, and besides the ordinary alms of the giver.

The American Prayer-Book differs from ours in appointing that the offerings "be applied by the minister and churchwardens to the relief of distressed women in childbed."

[23] v. 74. 4. [24] p. 326. [25] c. xvi. § *d.*
[26] Comp. Johnson, Vade-mecum, i. 244. [27] Gibson, 739.
[28] Works, xi. 155; cf. Walter, 417, 678; Ayliffe, quoted in Append. IV.

XXV.

Ordination and Ember-weeks.

The Church has appointed four times in the year for ordinations, and has directed that prayer and fasting be used at these times, in behalf of the ordaining bishops, and of the candidates for holy orders.

The xxxist canon forbids ordination save at these seasons. The preface to the Ordinal admits nothing short of "urgent occasion" as a reason for ordaining "upon some other Sunday or holy-day." And this, Bishop Gibson tells us,[1] "may not be done at the discretion of the bishop, but must have the archbishop's dispensation and license, as the practice hath been." Johnson, however, writes,[2] "The bishop, if he think fit, may ordain on any Sunday or holy-day;" and Burn is of opinion that, in the silence of the rubric on this head, "it may be a question whether dispensation be necessary."[3]

It was resolved in the upper house of convocation, April 21, 1662, "Quod nullae ordinationes clericorum per aliquos episcopos fierent nisi intra quatuor tempora pro ordinationibus assignata."[4]

Archbishop Sancroft and his suffragans agreed, in 1685, "that they will ordain no man but upon the Lord's Days immediately following the *jejunia quatuor temporum*, except he have a faculty to be ordained *extra tempora*; and such a faculty the Archbishop declares he will not grant but upon very urgent occasion."[5]

For the importance of the observance, I shall refer to some revered divines of former days.

Hooker "never failed the Sunday before every ember-week to give notice of it to his parishioners; persuading

[1] Codex, p. 160. [2] Vade-mecum, i. 56. [3] iii. 44.
[4] Synodalia, 670. [5] Doc. Ann. ii. 305.

them both to fast, and to double their devotions for a learned and pious clergy; and to what he persuaded others, he added his own example of fasting and prayer; and did usually every ember-week take from the parish-clerk the key of the church door, into which place he retired every day, and locked himself up for many hours."[6]

Herbert, after lamenting to a friend the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the clergy, "took occasion to say, one cure for these distempers would be, for the clergy themselves to keep the ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious clergy."[7]

Hammond, in reckoning up the sins by which it appeared to him that the judgments then afflicting this Church and nation had been drawn down, mentions the neglect of the ember-weeks;[8] for which, it is to be remarked, although the observance of them was prescribed, no prayer was at that time provided in our Book.

Bishop Wilson writes, "All Christians being concerned in this affair, all ought to fast and pray in order to have faithful pastors."[9]

Bishop Beveridge, in several of his sermons on the Church,[10] speaks highly of the advantage of observing the ember-weeks.

The ember-week prayers were added at the last review. The rubric before them is made clearer by a reference to the Scotch Liturgy, in which one of them, which is formed after a collect in the ordination-service, had before appeared, with an order that it should be "read every day of the week, beginning on the Sunday before the day of ordination."[11]

[6] Walton, in Eccl. Biog. iii. 518.
[7] Ib. iv. 39.
[8] 'Paræsis,' c. ii. § 24.
[9] Works, v. 199.
[10] Sermons iii., iv., ix.
[11] Keeling, 52.

XXVI.

The Services for the State Holy-days.[1]

[Four forms of prayer, known as the "State-services," were until lately] printed at the end of the Common Prayer, in obedience to an order from the Sovereign. With regard to the obligation of these forms, three different views were held. By some writers, the use of any special service was represented as a breach of our engagements to conformity; others considered that we were bound to make use of the services as they stood in the modern Prayer-Books; while, according to a third party, the offices which had a claim on us for three of the days in question were certain others, of earlier date.

[In January, 1859, a new royal warrant, issued in compliance with addresses from both Houses of Parliament, revoked the authority which had before been given for the celebration of the 5th of November, the 30th of January and the 29th of May, so that the anniversary of the Sovereign's accession is now the only State holy-day. It is, therefore, needless to discuss the special questions connected with the other three days; but it may be well to retain from former editions of this book] a sketch of the history of the services for them as well as for the accession.

By an act of 1605,[2] it was ordered that there should be a yearly thanksgiving on the 5th of November, in memory of the Gunpowder Treason. An office for the day was set forth by the authority of the crown in 1606; and in 1662, having been revised by Bishop Cosin, under the authority

[1] On this subject may be consulted a little work by the Hon. and Rev. A. P. Perceval, 1838; Dr. Cardwell's Conferences, pp. 383-4; a pamphlet by the Rev. T. Lathbury, 1843, and the British Magazine, vols. xii., xiii., and xiv. For the earlier forms, see Mr. Perceval's book, or Keeling's Liturgiæ.

[2] 3 Jac. i. c. 1.

of the convocation, it received the sanction of that body,[3] and was enforced by a royal proclamation, which directed that it, with other forms, should be annexed to the Book of Common Prayer. It appeared, accordingly, in the same year, although it was not annexed to the first edition of the new Prayer-Book, which hath just been adopted by Parliament.[4] In the calendar of that Book, the 5th of November is named among "certain solemn days, for which particular services are appointed."

The office was again altered in 1689, so as to include a thanksgiving for the landing of the Prince of Orange. The changes then introduced are ascribed to Bishops Patrick and Sprat; the altered service was set forth by royal proclamation.

In the calendar annexed to the act for altering the style,[5] the 5th of November is still mentioned by its original designation, as in the calendar of 1662—the day of "the Papists' Conspiracy"—no allusion being made to the landing of King William.

The religious observance of the 30th of January, in memory of the martyrdom of Charles I., and of the 29th of May, as the day of Charles II.'s "Birth and Return," was provided for by acts of 1660 and 1661.[6] In 1661, the convocation intrusted to two committees of bishops the preparation of offices for these days; and in the following year, it adopted the forms which had been composed accordingly —that for the 29th of May bearing especial reference to the birth and other personal circumstances of the reigning sovereign.[7] These forms were included in the proclama-

[3] Synodalia, 671.

[4] Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 4.

[5] 24 Geo. II. c. 23.

[6] 12 Car. II. cc. 30 and 14; 13 Car. II. c. 11.

[7] Synod. 640, 671. Two forms of prayer for Jan. 30 were put forth before that which was finally used. In one of them was a petition, afterwards omitted, for Charles I. and other faithful departed. Lathbury, Hist. of Nonjurors, 300; Hist. of P. B., 334.

tion already mentioned; and the days are named in the calendar of 1662 along with the 5th of November.

In the reign of James II., new services for the 30th of January and the 29th of May were promulgated by the royal authority.[8] In that for the 29th of May, all reference to the birth of Charles II. was omitted. The calendar of 24 Geo. II., however, adheres to the old designation of the day, as the anniversary of "The Birth and Return of King Charles II."

The Accession of the Sovereign was celebrated with thanksgiving as early as 1570.[9] The form used in 1578 is preserved, and has been reprinted by Strype.[10] That the observance was maintained in the reign of James I. appears from the testimony of Andrewes, who says in a sermon preached in 1606, that the anniversary of the Accession "hath a select service, both of psalms and chapters."[11]

The convocation of 1640, by its IInd canon, ordered the celebration of the Accession,[12] and a form drawn up in

[8] It is said that these services were drawn up by Sancroft in 1661-2, and were then offered to the convocation, but not approved by it. When, in a new reign, it became necessary to omit those parts of the Restoration-service which were personal to Charles II., Sancroft took the opportunity of substituting both his own compositions for the forms which the convocation had sanctioned. This statement rests on the authority of Bishop Burnet. (Own Time, i. 184.)

[9] Nicolas, Chronology, p. 168. [See Mr. Clay's Note in Liturgies, &c., of Eliz., ed. Park. Soc. 463.]

[10] See Eliz. Liturgies, 548, *seqq.*

[11] v. 169.

[12] The word employed is *Inauguration*, which might seem rather to signify *Coronation*, and we find that the anniversary was usually styled "coronation-day." Evelyn writes in James the Second's reign (Diary, Feb. 6, 1686)—"It was much wondered at, that this day, which was that of his late majesty's death, should be kept as a festival, and not the day of the present king's coronation. It is said to have been formerly the custom, though not till now, since the reign of James I." The canon of 1640, however, in grounding the observance of the "inauguration" on the practice of "our own most religious princes since the Reformation," appears to contemplate no change from the order of Elizabeth and James; and in their reigns we know that the accession, not the coronation, was commemo-

1626 was then approved. The canon was so worded as to apply only to Charles I. in particular; and "this festival was disused in the reign of Charles II. upon the occasion of the murder of his royal father, which changed the day into a day of sorrow and fasting."[13] Besides this, there was the additional reason for intermitting the observance in that reign, that the service for May 29 was a celebration of Charles' accession *de facto*, being, in the words of an act of Parliament, "the birthday not only of his Majesty as a man and a prince, but likewise as an actual king."[14]

James II. revived the celebration, which was again disused under William III. to whom the altered service for Nov. 5 was as the Restoration-office had been to Charles II. The office in its present form has been used since Queen Anne's reign.

With the exception of the short time when the canon of 1640 was in force, the observation of the accession has always rested on the royal authority alone. The order for it was issued separately, until George III. included this day in the same proclamation which commanded the other three to be kept, and directed that the Accession-service should, like the others, be appended to the Prayer-Book.[15]

The opinion which regards all special services as inconsistent with our obligations to conformity, and with the

rated. (See Andrewes and Nicolas.) We find the term "coronation-day" applied in Charles the First's reign to March 27—the accession—whereas he was crowned on Feb. 2. (Rushworth, iii. 886; cf. Laud, i. 186; B. Jonson's 'Silent Woman,' act i. sc. 1.) So Andrewes' sermon already referred to is said to have been preached on "coronation-day;" and Bishop Cartwright, in his Diary, Feb. 6, 1687, speaks of the accession as the "inauguration." Evelyn and his contemporaries, therefore, would appear to have been misled by the popular use of the term *coronation*, which probably had grown out of the fact that in earlier times the reigns of English kings were reckoned from their coronation—not, as afterwards, from the death of the predecessor. See n. in Burnet, v. 7; iii. 37; Nicholas, 283, *seqq.*

[13] Gibson, Cod. 279. [14] Ib. 284. [15] Perceval, 16.

order of the xivth canon, that the Common Prayer shall be used "without either diminishing or adding anything," appears to me to be altogether contradictory to historical evidence. Dr. Jebb observes, in behalf of this opinion, that "since the last review, and the passing of the act of uniformity, the power of the crown and of the temporal legislature has been in this respect definitively restrained."[16] But in truth, the right of the Crown to appoint forms for particular occasions was always regarded as something distinct from, and independent of, that power of altering rites and ceremonies which was reserved to Queen Elizabeth by the act of uniformity 1559, and which was exercised, whether rightfully or not, by her successor in setting forth the Prayer-Book of 1604. This latter power is all that is taken away by the act of 1662, and the right of issuing occasional forms of prayer has been continually exercised by the sovereign since the date of the act of uniformity. "It is," says Mr. Rose,[17] "a doctrine held by all ecclesiastical lawyers, that it is an understood part of the royal prerogative to order solemn thanksgivings and fasts, and desire the proper authorities to prepare forms of prayer for them; and that the act of uniformity contains no saving clause for this prerogative, because it was too well known and established to require any such clause."

It has been said that "the resolution of a clergyman [John Johnson, author of 'The Unbloody Sacrifice'] a century ago, in standing to his engagements, has established a precedent for rejecting the authority" of the State-services.[18] These words would lead us to imagine that Johnson's resistance to the services in question was consistent and in the end triumphant; but on looking at his own 'Case of occasional Days and Prayers,' and to the summary of the affair, which Burn[19] gives, we miss alike the consistency and the triumph. Johnson, vicar of Cranbrook, after having,

[16] Choral Service, 536.
[17] Brit. Mag. xii. 687.
[18] R. I. Wilberforce on Church Discipline, p. 132.
[19] ii. 328.

in his 'Clergyman's Vade-mecum,'[20] advocated the power of the crown to appoint solemn days and services, was cited before his ordinary in 1715 for omitting the Accession office. He persisted in the omission, and justified it by denying the royal authority to prescribe such offices, which he maintained to be contrary to the Prayer-Book, canons, and acts of uniformity. In 1721, he published the pamphlet already named, in which he stated that the prosecution against him did not proceed. This expression of satisfaction, however, was premature; for the matter was afterwards carried further, and ended two years later, in his making humble submission, and expressing a grateful sense of Archbishop Wake's "lenity" in accepting his retractation. Thus was this divine somewhat ignominiously brought back to his original view of the subject.

I believe, then, that the service for the Accession has authority sufficient to warrant us in using it, inasmuch as it is set forth by royal order; and [it would seem that the reservation made by the subscription act of 1865, in favour of such services "as shall be ordered by lawful authority," was intended to sanction the use of this service, as well as of the occasional forms which are put forth from time to time.][21]

XXVII.

Metrical Psalms.

Two metrical versions of the Psalms enjoy a kind of authority among us. That by Sternhold and others professes in the title-page to be "set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches of all the people together, before and after morning and evening prayer, as also before and after sermons." The "New Version" was sanctioned by the Crown in William the Third's reign. "By the same authority

[20] i. 192.

[21] See Mr. Walpole's remarks in the 'Interleaved Prayer-Book,' 353-5.

also, in the reign of Queen Anne, certain Hymns were allowed to be appended as a supplement to the New Version of Psalms, and were permitted by the Queen to be used in all churches."[1]

1549. The act which authorized the first Book of Edward VI. provides that "It shall be lawful for all men, —as well in churches, chapels, oratories, as other places, to use openly any psalm or prayer taken out of the Bible at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service or any part of it mentioned in the said book."[2] "This proviso," writes Collier,[3] "was thrown in, as it is thought, to countenance the psalms projected to be turned into verse, and to allow the use of them in churches: for these *singing Psalms*, as they were called, were very much the inclination of the reformed." It is to be observed that *verse* is not mentioned in the act. Heylyn[4] and Collier[5] agree that the sanction of Sternhold's version was rather a connivance than an approbation. It has no discoverable authority, other than this act, passed five years before the appearance of those psalms which were versified by Sternhold himself, the first-published portion of the collection.[6] And this conclusion, we are told, was the result of an inquiry "when the allowance was disputed in the High Commission."[7]

Bishop Beveridge, however, supposes that the "allowance" (which in the language of that time meant *approbation*) must have been given by some royal warrant which is now lost; "for otherwise they durst never have presumed to have said that it was set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches; and if they had done it at first, they would soon have been questioned for it, and those words ordered to be left out in all future editions."[8]

[1] Bp. Mant, Charges, 1842, p. 52.
[2] Gibson, 297. [3] ii. 263. [4] Hist. Ref. 127.
[5] ii. 326. [6] Strype, Eccl. Mem. ii. 86.
[7] Heylyn, Aërius Rediv. 248, ed. 1670. See also Cosin, iv. 388.
[8] Works, viii. 624.

1559. Eliz. Injunction 49, allows that while plainsong is to be used in the service generally in those churches where provision is made for musical performance of it, "It may be permitted that in the beginning or in the end of the common prayers, either at morning or evening, there may be sung an hymn or such like song to the praise of Almighty God, in the best sort of melody and music that may be conveniently devised."[9] Heylyn remarks, "No mention here of singing David's Psalms in metre, though afterwards they first thrust out the hymns, which are herein mentioned, and by degrees also did they the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*."[10] It would seem, however, that the authority of this injunction was claimed in behalf of Sternhold's version; for an edition printed at Geneva in 1569[11] professes to be "Faithfully perused and allowed according to the order appointed in the Queen's Majesty's injunctions." And perhaps we may hence infer by analogy a liberty for metrical psalms before and after service, in places where more artificial music is not used.

In September of the same year we read of psalms "after the Geneva fashion," at St. Antholin's, London—(long after a favourite resort of civic puritanism). The "Geneva fashion" consisted in the singing of the whole congregation, "men, women, and boys" together, instead of keeping the antiphonal way.[12]

In the end of the year, we find that there were some troubles at Exeter on the subject of psalmody. The royal visitors, of whom Jewel was one, had given orders for service at the cathedral, according to the Prayer-Book. Soon after, some laymen and women disturbed the church by singing metrical psalms, and complained against the

[9] Doc. Ann. i. 196.

[10] Hist. Ref. 289. Cosin asks, in his articles for the East Riding, 1627, whether the minister say the canticles "in the words that are prescribed in the service-book only, and no other or otherwise." (Works, ii. 9.)

[11] In the Library of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

[12] Machyn's Diary, 212; Strype, Annals, i. 136.

authorities for interfering with them. The visitors wrote a remonstrance to the chapter, which was followed by one from four commissioners, among whom were Parker and Grindal. The chapter replied to the former, that the proceedings of the complainants were in breach of the act of Uniformity. This answer was written before the receipt of the letter from the Primate and his associates; no answer to that is given by Wilkins, nor does it appear that the cause of the "Geneva fashion" was further espoused by the high personages who had been appealed to. The chapter evidently considered the metrical psalms unauthorized.[13]

1599. King, archdeacon of Nottingham, inquires "whether you have in your parish church two psalters in prose and metre."[14]

Wren's inquiry on the subject, both in 1636 and in 1662, is remarkable on several accounts—"If any psalms be used to be sung in your church, before or after the morning and evening prayer, or before and after the sermons (upon which occasions only they are allowed to be sung in churches), is it done according to the grave manner (which first was in use) that such do sing as can read the psalms, or have learned them by heart; and not after that uncouth and undecent custom of late taken up, to have every line first read by one alone, and then sung by the people?"[15]

1640. Cosin, then prebendary of Durham, declares, in his answer to the absurd charges brought against him by Smart, another prebendary, that he "never forbade singing the metre psalms in the church, but used to sing them himself with the people at morning prayer."[16]

[13] See Wilkins, Conc. iv. 200. Parker himself made a metrical translation of the Psalms, which is now excessively rare; but it does not appear that he attempted to introduce it into churches. There is a copy in the cathedral library at Canterbury.

[14] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 434.

[15] Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 561.

[16] Collier, ii. 799.

This, let it be observed, was in a cathedral.

1641. The Lords' sub-committee at once proves the prevalence of the metrical psalms, and betrays a sense that the pretensions of Sternhold's title could not be well made out: "It is very fit that the imperfections of the metre in the singing psalms should be mended, and then lawful authority added unto them, to have them publicly sung before and after sermons, and sometimes instead of the hymns of morning or evening prayer."[17] It would seem that the authority is desired, not only for the proposed alterations, but for the version altogether; as if it were hitherto wanting in such sanction.

It is remarkable that the bishops of 1661 appear studiously to avoid considering the request of the presbyterians for an amendment of the metrical psalms, or leave to use a purer version. They answer, "Singing of psalms in metre is no part of the Liturgy, and so no part of our commission."[18]

Bull in his Charge, 1708,[19] says, that he believes an interval was intended between the first and the second service in the morning, which is filled up in cathedrals by an anthem, in London and other great churches, by psalm-singing.

The use of psalms while the minister is moving from one part of the church to another may be defended by the parallel of the *Introits* and *Graduals* of earlier books.[20] And the practice of singing before Morning and Even-

[17] Cardw. Conf. 277.

[18] Cardw. Conf. 308-342.

[19] Works, ii. 18. See Dr. Hook's Call to Union, note N, for the introduction of this fashion at Leeds during the same year.

[20] See as to Beveridge, Nelson's Life of Bull, p. 63. Andrewes writes (in Nicholls, 24)—"Here [*i. e.* after the Litany] the minister riseth, and if there be a sermon, an introit is sung." So, at his consecration of Jesus Chapel,—"Post benedictionem populi cantatur Psalm 132, conscenditque suggestum M. Robinson, Theol. Bac."—"In many places," writes Schmid, describing the present practice of churches in communion with Rome, "a hymn for the aid of the Holy Spirit is sung by the choir or by the congregation while the preacher is going up into the pulpit." (ii. 149.)

ing prayer may plead considerable countenance from past times, although—understanding the word *correct* to mean *fit, proper*, or *fully authorized*,—we may fully agree with Bishop Blomfield when he says, "I think it is not correct to commence Divine service with a psalm or hymn."[21]

[21] Charge, 1842, p. 65.

PART III.

CONCLUSION.

Let me not be misunderstood as if I thought a partial conformity good in itself, or regarded it with any affection. I believe, not only that the Church's system in its fulness is better than any imperfect approach to it, but that we are bound always to keep this full system in view, and to labour that it may be realized; and it is only from a desire to work towards that end in the most effectual manner that I would recommend caution for the present, and have endeavoured to prove that we may be justified to our consciences in proceeding by degrees, instead of forcing everything at once on a generation naturally distrustful of changes for which the way has not been rightly prepared.

"Whatever," writes Dr. Hey,[1] "is expressed in words lately settled, must require obedience without abatement; whatever is old, becomes more indefinite, and is to be construed with greater latitude."

We do not in the present case need much help from this principle; for "obedience without abatement" was never required or given; neither during the time when the first English Prayer-Book was in force, nor during the shorter authority of the second; not while the Church was governed by the very men who had set forth the Book of 1559, nor under the administration of Bancroft or of Laud, the most energetic of our primates; nor, lastly, in the times immediately following on the revision in the reign

[1] Lectures, iii. 6, 5.

of Charles II. And if we inquire into the practice of individuals, we generally find something short of perfect conformity in those divines whom we should be most ready to look to for guidance and example.

And in order to confirm the legitimacy of admitting tradition and example as helps towards the understanding of our engagements, let it be observed, that the current and received traditions have not all been of a *diminishing* character. "The Book," says Cosin, "does not everywhere enjoin and prescribe every little order, what should be said or done, but takes it for granted that people are acquainted with such common things and always used, already."[2] Many things, indeed, which were before left open, and were therefore variously done, according to the taste of individuals, are expressly ordered since the last review; such as the placing of the elements on the altar; the position of the priest in consecrating and receiving; the use of his hands at the consecration; the response *Amen* after the prayer of consecration, which had before been used, the people by it professing "their faith of Christ's Body to be exhibited to them;"[3] the consecration of additional bread and wine when required, which had previously the authority of a canon only;[4] standing at the gospels, and at the "Gloria Patri" and at the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds; reading the sentences, exhortation, confession, and absolution as well as evensong as at matins. The rubric relating to the anthem dates also from 1662, and it is so worded as to imply that the framers considered the custom of "quires and places where they sing," founded on one of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, a sufficient warrant for the performance of an anthem, and intended to exercise their own authority only in directing at what stage in the service it should be introduced.[5] Under this head, too,

[2] Works, v. 65. [3] Ib. 112. [4] Can. xxi.

[5] The use of the prayers for the Sovereign, &c., when the Litany is not read, was observed, but not prescribed, before the last revision. Elizabeth

comes the form for the publication of banns, all but the description of the parties, which is still left to "the accustomed manner."[6] But there yet remain some things, which, though not prescribed, are generally observed; *e.g.* standing up at the beginning of morning and evening prayer; giving out the psalms of the day; standing at the psalms and canticles; and (which has always been the most remarkable instance of this kind) reading the psalms in the alternate manner. Nothing indeed can be more untenable than the notion that the Prayer-Book is a complete rule, which will not admit of any variation, either by exceeding or by falling short of it.[7]

It has been laid down, with a view to enforcing certain things on churches of all kinds, that Cathedrals "are regulated by no authority which does not equally bind the most private chapel, or the most remote parish church."[8] I cannot understand on what grounds this is said. The rubric itself makes special provision for "quires and places where they sing," and gives order for communion, "every Sunday at the least in cathedral and collegiate churches, and colleges, where there are many priests and deacons." The whole body of injunctions and canons recognizes a distinction between cathedral and collegiate churches on

by her injunctions allowed an anthem at the end of service, and after it these prayers were usually said. Hence the position according to the present rubric. See p. 250; and Cosin, v. 454.

[6] The charge to sponsors, that they should cause children to be instructed in the catechism, and should bring them to confirmation, was ordered in the earlier Books, but no words were prescribed for it. Thus it was neglected about 1591. (Doc. Ann. ii. 23.)

[7] As practices less generally observed, but having much sanction of a traditional kind, may be mentioned—the use of a doxology before, and of a thanksgiving after, the gospel in the communion-service (p. 193); the custom of turning to the east at the creeds; and that of saying *Amen* at receiving the consecrated elements (p. 206). Mr. William Dyce's Preface to Marbecke may be consulted on the subject of traditional sanction.

[8] 'Lights on the Altar,' by the Rev. G. A. Poole. A like assertion was made by Heylyn, and is refuted by Williams in replying to him. (Holy Table, pp. 182-3.)

the one hand, and parish churches on the other; nay, we often find a distinction drawn between parish churches in towns, and those in the country. This last is the case as to week-day services. Sermons are allowed in towns at times when the rubric does not prescribe any, when catechizing is ordered elsewhere. Lights on the altar are enjoined only for cathedrals; so too are copes; until 1604, hoods were not required but in these greater churches; Charles II. while willing to give up the use of the surplice elsewhere, proposes that it be retained in cathedrals, colleges, and the royal chapels.[9] The standing of the holy table differed in the different classes of churches, until Laud attempted to establish general uniformity; "largeness and straitness of the church and choir" are spoken of as circumstances which are to determine in what part the minister shall officiate; sermons are allowed in the university-churches without the previous reading of prayers; colleges in the universities, and certain great schools, are allowed to use service in Latin, which is forbidden elsewhere;[10] the Latin Book set forth for these societies permits the reservation of the consecrated elements for the sick, while it was not allowed by the English Liturgy, "upon a rational presumption that, the greater light they enjoyed, the less prone and disposed would they be to error and superstition;"[11] and at the same time (1560) we find a Latin office appointed for their use in communion at funerals, although the usage of celebrating the holy communion on such occasions was then no longer provided for in our English Service Book.[12]

We meet with notices of peculiar traditions in various churches, which are received as sufficient authority for certain practices. The royal chapels had ways of their own, while, as on the one hand no one attempted to interfere with them, so on the other hand they were not regarded

[9] Doc. Ann. ii. 249. [10] Doc. Ann. No. 50. [11] L'Estrange, 300.
[12] Doc. Ann. Nos. 50-51.

as models to be imitated in ordinary churches.[13] There are, too, special statutes by which the chapter clergy are bound to observances not required or used elsewhere.[14] We find, indeed, Archbishop Sheldon speaking of the cathedrals as "the standard and rule to all parochial churches of the solemnity and decent manner of reading the Liturgy and administering the holy sacraments;"[15] but we may be very sure that when he wrote thus, in desiring that the service in the cathedrals themselves should be decent and solemn, he did not mean that parish churches were to conform to the very pattern of cathedrals, so that (after the fashion which is so offensive in foreign churches) means which are sufficient for nothing more than a decent simplicity should be employed in such an imitation of magnificence as can only be paltry and childish.

Nor, again, do we find among divines of former days that spirit, which is now thought necessary, of curious inquiry into the warrant for things which come to us recommended by the *nearest* authority. Archbishop Parker writes to Cecil, "Whatsoever the [Queen's] ecclesiastical prerogative is, I fear it is not so great as your pen hath given it in the injunctions [of 1559]."[16] Yet these injunctions were received and obeyed as having sufficient authority; they, the advertisements of 1665, and the canons of 1571 and 1604, were never called in question as contradictory to the Prayer-Book, in points where the one rule relaxed or exceeded the other; where, for example, the rubric seemed to order a cope, and the advertisements or canons prescribed a surplice, no parochial clergyman appears to have thought that it was his duty, or even that

[13] See Williams, 'Holy Table,' c. 2; Heylyn, 'Antid. Lincoln,' c. 2.

[14] Thus, Archbishop Bancroft inquires at Wells cathedral, 1605, "whether daily service be there sung, according to the foundation of this church?" . . . "How often have you sermons or lectures in the week, and by whom? and what be the statutes of this church in that behalf?" (Wilkins, Conc. iv. 415.)

[15] Doc. Ann. ii. 280.

[16] Doc. Ann. i. 178. Parker elsewhere speaks otherwise, see p. 168.

he was at liberty, to wear the more gorgeous garment. Indeed the Prayer-Books from 1552 to 1662 rested only on "regal and parliamentary authority;"[17] and further, the alterations which were made in that Book after the Hampton Court Conference, had no other authority than a royal proclamation.[18] Yet we do not hear that Andrewes, Laud, or any other churchman in the reigns of Elizabeth, of James, or of Charles I. pretended a right to neglect the usual Liturgy of his own time, and to use the only English service-book which had ever received all the necessary sanctions, viz. the first Book of King Edward. Those who would most have wished to restore some things from that Book, never imagined that they were free to use it without fresh legislation; much less that they were *bound* to use it, as the only Book that had a valid claim to their obedience.[19] It is, therefore, very unlike the ways of our wisest forefathers, if we make scruples in things indifferent merely because we receive them from something less than the combined authority of convocation and parliament. An examination will prove to any one that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the canons and injunctions were always supposed to be sufficient interpretations of the rubric; adapted to the needs of the times when they were issued, and enough to

[17] Brett on Liturgies, ed. 1838, p. 399.

[18] See Appendix V.

[19] Cosin, in his earliest notes, observes that the Preface *Of Ceremonies* "is the same verbatim with that which is in the [first] service-book of King Edward VI. The preface, then, being the same, it seems all the ceremonies of that book are still justified by our Church, though some of them, at Calvin's and Bucer's instance, were omitted in the review of the book, 5 Edw. VI., as not accounted absolutely necessary." (Works, v. 12.) I quote this, not with any view of discussing the question, but as a proof that the writer, who is in general a strenuous opposer of state usurpation, supposed the first Book of Edward to have been fairly abrogated by the sanction of Elizabeth's Liturgy. It has, indeed, been questioned whether even the first Book had the sanction of convocation. (Clay on the C. P.; Neal, i. 38.) If not, what form would our scrupulous rubricians have used, had they lived between 1549 and 1662? Was there any form, English or Latin, fully authorized at first, and not since fully abrogated?

justify to his own conscience any who was bound by the rubric, provided he did as much as *they* required.

We have, indeed, been told of late, that any one who objects to insisting on gestures and other such matters, "does so in the teeth of our standard divinity."[20] It would, however, probably be difficult to produce any "standard divinity" which maintains such things as being of the importance with which they are now invested. Look at what may be considered to set forth Laud's own views—the canons of 1640. Do they *insist* on such matters? Are they not rather full of a charity founded on a sense of their indifference in themselves? In like manner Sanderson writes—"The taking away of the indifferency of anything that is indifferent, is in truth *superstition;* whether either of the two ways it be done; either by requiring it as necessary, or by forbidding it as unlawful."[21] Again, "Some have been blamed for bringing into the Church new forms and ceremonies; or (which is all one in the apprehensions of men that consider not much, and so is liable to the same censure) for reviving old ones, but long disused and forgotten;" and both to such, and to the opposite extreme party, he gives solemn advice not to profess too loudly a zeal for God's glory, when less sacred motives may be mixed up in their actions.[22] "Many a man," he writes elsewhere, "when he thought most to make it sure, hath quite marred a good business by overdoing it."[23] He declares that "no true son of the Church doteth on any ceremony, whatsoever opinion he may have of the decency or expediency of some of them. If any do, let him answer for himself. Among wise men he will hardly pass for a wise man, that *doteth* upon any."[24] He maintains the ceremonies, as Parker had long before maintained the habits,[25] for the sake of *obedience.* Taylor in the same spirit directs that no minister of a parish introduce any

[20] Brit. Crit. Oct. 1842, p. 337. [21] Sermons, p. 64. [22] Ib. 545.
[23] Ib. Pref. 79. [24] Ib. 70. [25] Collier, ii. 548.

strange rites, and that the clergy shall explain such rites as they make use of.[26]

It does not follow, that, because there is a very deep mystical system in Divine things, therefore we are bound to multiply ceremonies of human devising for the sake of arbitrary symbolical meanings. Nor again, that because we profess to reverence the early Church, to receive its witness as to points of faith, and even in liturgical matters to strive after conformity to "the mind and purpose of the old Fathers," we are bound closely to follow its example in every particular of ritual detail. Our xxxivth Article declares most reasonably, that "traditions and ceremonies may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners." And in like manner it is said in the preface to the Prayer-Book, that "in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe anything but to our own people only. For we think it convenient that every country should use such ceremonies as they think best to the setting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly living, without error or superstition; and that they should put away other things, which from time to time they perceive to be most abused, as in men's ordinances it often chanceth diversely in divers countries." "Quia omnia ad unum eundemque modum redigere conantur," writes Mabillon, "perinde mihi videntur agere ac si omnes populos ad eosdem mores eademque penitus instituta reducere tentarent."[27] That there *are* important differences between one people and another, no one can pretend to doubt. They appear in the various systems of heathen religion; in art, in poetry, and all literature; in the different characters of the heresies which anciently arose in the East and in the West respectively; in many other things which might easily be mentioned, as well as in the outward manners and the habits of daily life. Why, then, should it be

[26] Advices, No. 39; cf. vol. xiii. 83-4. [27] Quoted by Schmid, i. 61.

set down to a narrow and faulty insular pride, if we say that the difference of the English character from that of other nations may not improperly affect the manner of our showing forth a belief and a reverence which are substantially the same as theirs? "So that all things be done to edifying"[28]—a principle not always kept in view by those who revive ancient customs among us—the spirit of true Catholic Churchmanship would judge of such varieties according to the sentence of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres,—"Nec nos offendit observantiæ diversitas, ubi fidei non scinditur unitas."[29]

At least, if we must have types in everything, let us be content to have them for our own edification, without forcing them on others, or charging others with want of spiritual discernment because they cannot fully enter into the meaning, or receive the symbols as something important.

Puritanism has always been much afraid of symbolical significations. Thus, it is said in 1565, by those who objected to the habits, that "Popish garments may have many superstitious mystical significations;"[30] again, in 1605, an "argument for the unlawfulness of the ceremonies is taken from their mystical signification."[31] Bishop Wren was persecuted because he was supposed to have meant something mystical by his reforms in the disposition of churches. The Scotch Presbyterians, on receiving the Liturgy of 1637, look into Durandus for an explanation of the rites, and conclude that they *must* have been ordained for his reasons and none other;[32] their English brethren, at the Savoy Conference, allege that "Romish ritualists give such reasons for the use and institution of the ring [in marriage], as are either frivolous or superstitious;"[33] and, not to multiply instances, the reader may see in

[28] Art. xxxiv. [29] Ep. 3, Migne, Patrol. cxli.; cf. Bramhall, iii. 170.
[30] Neal, i. 138. [31] Ib. i. 428. [32] Laud, Troubles, 116.
[33] Cardw. Conf. 330.

Bingham's 'Apology of the French Church,' a strong proof of the extent to which this horror was entertained by the party for whose conviction that learned writer called in the witness of foreign protestants.[34]

On the other hand, our Church has declared her mind in the preface "Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained." Bishop Cosin speaks of "the ridiculous 'Rationale' of Durandus," and does not hesitate to adopt words in which the Roman worship is styled "foolish, theatrical, and superstitious," because the "utensils, vestments, actions, motions, and winkings" introduced into it were intended "to signify the mysteries of the life and death of Christ,"[35]—a purpose which would be more than a justification of any ceremonies in the opinion of the reasoners with whom I am now concerned. Bishop Wren, in his answer when impeached, denies that his orders for raising the floor of chancels and the like had any other motive than a wish to make the eucharistic rites generally visible.[36] Laud thus answers the Scotch presbyterians' imputation of reasons from the 'Rationale,'—"What warrant have they for this? Why, Durand says so. Now, truly, the more fool he. And they shall do well to ask their own bishops what acquaintance they have with Durand. As for myself, I was so poorly satisfied with the first leaf I read in him, that I never meddled with him since; nor indeed do I spend any time in such authors as he is."[37] And the episcopal divines at the Savoy say in behalf of the ring, that "the reasons mentioned in the Romish Ritualists" are not "given in our Common Prayer-Book."[38] In like manner Bishop Taylor writes that certain ceremonies "are to no purpose; not only for the levity and theatrical gaieties and representments, unbefitting the gravity and purity and spirituality of Christian religion;

[34] Book ii. c. 6.

[35] It appears that the words are borrowed from Calixtus. See Cosin, Works, v. 307.

[36] Parentalia, 74. [37] Troubles, 116. [38] Conf. 360.

but also the manner of teaching these truths by symbolical things and actions is too low, too suspicious, too dangerous, to be mingled with the Divine Liturgies. A symbolical rite of human invention, to signify what it does not effect, and then introduced into the solemn worship of God, is so like those vain imaginations and representments forbidden in the second commandment, that the very suspicion is more against edification than their use can pretend to."[39]

On the part of the Church's enemies, there is a continual endeavour to connect her and her truest sons with that system of exaggerated symbolism which we are now taught to regard as an essential element of Catholicism; on the part of the Church herself, and of the best expositors of her mind in her best days, there is a steady and often a contemptuous disavowal of it.[40]

In former times, the rage about dress and similar trifles was a mark of puritanism; the objectors were the "fanatici superpelliceani et galeriani" whose "ineptias aut potius φιλαντίαν," whose perversity in causing time which might have been better employed to be wasted in "futilissimis do lana caprina altercationibus," one of Cecil's correspondents complains of;[41] while the governors of the Church did not enforce the habits and ceremonies as if they were anything in themselves, but as lawful for Christians, and a trial of obedience. But if one part of the Church revive such questions, now long forgotten, the puritanical side of them will be revived too; and let it be remembered that in one thing which we should be sorry to see interfered with—the position of the holy table at com-

[39] xiv. 111; cf. xii. 493.

[40] Guéranger says (ii. 235) that an explanation of the symbolical meaning of rites has been found a powerful instrument for converting English and American protestants to Romanism. It would appear, however, from various passages in Schmid (*e.g.* ii. 236) that foreign Romanists very generally neglect the symbolical meanings, that interpretations of this kind vary much from each other, and consequently, that in many cases the meaning is rather attached to the rite than contained in it.

[41] Strype, Parker, App. p. 74.

munion-time—the letter of the law is really with the fiercer puritans of former days, and against the custom which has long been allowed to pass without question.

My object has been to show that in some things the strict letter of the Prayer-Book may be dispensed with;[42] but there are matters in which I conceive that no consideration of circumstances ought to prevail with us for any deviation. Such is the case when the non-observance would be an irreverence, as the allowing the elements to be placed on the altar by any other hands than the priest's: or an absurdity, as the reading the churching-service in a private room; or a contradiction to the Church's mind. as the use in houses of the form for public baptism, or the distribution of the holy elements without addressing the words to each communicant.[43] Such is a changing of the words in the Prayer-Book; or a depriving the people in any degree of that provision which the Church has made for their instruction, and for intercession in their behalf,[44] as the omission of anything which is appointed to be said in any kind of service. If any clergyman has been in the habit of varying in such matters, it appears to me that he should do so no more, and need neither trouble his

[42] Nothing can be further from the purpose of this work, than to encourage a lax sense of obligation with respect to the pledges of the clergy generally. There is a wide difference of nature between doctrinal and rubrical obligation. I suppose a clergyman sincerely attached to the English Church, and desirous of acting on her orders as to rites, &c., in such a manner as may best advance her influence, and secure those objects for which the orders were framed; and it is my endeavour to prove that, thus conforming entirely in heart and will, he may use a measure of discretion as to establishing outward conformity where he does not find it in its completeness. There is obviously no likeness between this case and that of one whose doctrine does not come up to our Church's standard, or of one whose affections are not with the English Church but elsewhere, and whose object is to find some expedient for reconciling his alien opinions with the letter of his Anglican obligations.

[43] On this subject, Mr. Crosthwaite's *Communio Fidelium* proves abundantly what is the only right practice.

[44] From what has been said in the Second Part, it will appear that this is not meant to apply to the non-observance of daily service.

diocesan with an application for advice, nor listen to any objections from his people, or from any others. "Elimi nata consuetudine, servetur rubrica."[45] And it need hardly be said that in this age, when there is a great movement for the restoration of the full system of our Prayer-Book, that man's churchmanship must be worse than doubtful who allows to drop any Church-observance which is already established. If, for example, a clergyman find in his parish a daily service, or an observation of holy-days or litany-days, he will incur just suspicion and blame should he substitute for these prayers and lecture on Tuesday or Thursday evenings, or a system of household-lecturing, or should he confine the public service in his church to the Lord's Day. Our duty is, not to recede in anything, nor even to rest content with what we find, but to strive that the Church's mind may be completely carried out. But in doing so, we ought to use such means as may tend most surely towards the end in view. And, whether our own good, or that of our people, be regarded, I believe that a gradual and discreet proceeding will be found the best.

"Those things commanded" [in the Prayer-Book], says one of the authors of 'Tracts for the Times,' "of course a good churchman would observe, if possible. He would also wish to restore what it implies, though it be not commanded, if fallen into disuse; and to carry out as far as possible the spirit and intention of the Church. Catholic usages and principles he will aim at, as a Christian and a churchman; but in doing so, he will be guided by the spirit of meek wisdom which is the marked characteristic of his own Church; remembering always the very terrible woe denounced against him who shall offend one of Christ's little ones."[46]

[45] These pithy words are from an order of the Roman Board of Rites, in Schmid, ii. 256.

[46] No. lxxxvi. p. 86. [The writer was the late Mr. Isaac Williams.]

ULTRA-RITUALISM.

['QUARTERLY REVIEW,' JAN. 1867.]

1. *The Directorium Anglicanum.* Third Edition. Edited by the Rev. Frederick George Lee, D.C.L. London, 1866.
2. *Lawful Church Ornaments.* By the Rev. Thomas Walter Perry. London, 1857.
3. *The Church and the World; Essays on Questions of the Day.* By various writers. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. London. 1866.
4. *The Cases of Westerton against Liddell, Clerk, and others (St. Paul's, Knightsbridge), and Beal against Liddell, Clerk, and others (St. Barnabas, Pimlico), as heard and determined by the Consistory Court of London, the Arches Court of Canterbury, and the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council.* By E. F. Moore, London, 1857.
5. *The Ornaments of the Minister. Case submitted to Counsel, with the Joint Opinion thereon of the Attorney-General [Sir Roundell Palmer], Sir Hugh M. Cairns, Q.C., Mr. Mellish, Q.C., and Mr. Barrow.* London, 1866.
6. *Disputed Ritual Ornaments and Usages. A Case, with the Opinions thereon of Her Majesty's Advocate (Sir R. Phillimore, Q.C.), Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Q.C., Sir W. Bovill, Q.C., Mr. W. M. James, Q.C., Dr. Deane, Q.C., Mr. J. D. Coleridge, Q.C., M.P., Mr. C. G. Prideaux, Mr. J. Hannen, and Mr. J. Cutler.* London, 1866.

7–11. *The Mixed Chalice. The Elevation of the Host. The North-Side of the Altar. Incense. Catholic Ritual in the Church of England.* By Richard Frederick Littledale, M.A., LL.D., Priest of the Church of England. London, 1865-6.

12. *Rites and Ritual.* By Philip Freeman, M.A., Archdeacon and Canon of Exeter. London, 1866.
13. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of St. David's, October*, 1866. By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. London, 1866.

THE Ritual movement, which began in the English Church soon after the publication of the 'Tracts for the Times,' and has been already twice discussed in the pages of the

'Quarterly Review,'[1] has lately entered on a new phase, which at the date of our earlier articles could hardly have been imagined as possible. It is no longer a question of surplice against gown as the dress of the preachers in parish churches, of a weekly offertory, or of reading or omitting the Prayer for the Church Militant; but vestures and ornaments are revived, and ceremonies are practised, on which no one had ventured in 1843, or even in 1851, while the novelties of external worship are justified by the assertion of principles which in those days had not been discovered, or at least found no champion bold enough to maintain them. The Ritualists (as they delight to style themselves) while they acknowledge a connection with the "Tractarians" and "Ecclesiologists" of an older time, look back on those fellow-labourers in the "great Catholic Revival" as mere babes in knowledge. They tell us, for instance, that Dr. Newman "completely misconceived the very nature of the Catholic Church when he was among us, and, of course, the English Communion also;" that when he seceded he was "yet in a semi-protestant state:"[2] whereas they themselves have made the discovery that it is possible entirely to shake off the bondage of Protestantism and yet to remain in the English Church; nay, that those who do so are its only true and consistent members.[3] And between the earlier ceremonialists and the new party the contrast is thus drawn by Dr. Littledale:—

"It may not be forgotten that in a former day, and notably about 1842, spasmodic attempts to revive various external rites were made, and that they fell through (just as two hundred years before, in the Laudian movement), not so much because suppressed, or even because ridiculed, as because they did not

[1] No. clxiii., Art. 8, 'Rubrics and Ritual of the Church of England' (May, 1843); No. clxxvii., Art. 8, 'Rubric *versus* Usage' (June, 1851). [These articles, it need hardly be said, were by another hand.]

[2] 'The Church and the World,' p. 247.

[3] Littledale, 'Catholic Ritual,' pp. 14, 20-1.

spring naturally out of matured theological convictions. In 'Loss and Gain' [a tale by Dr. Newman], some examples of this merely dilettante spirit are mercilessly derided. But the phenomenon which has to be dealt with now is that ceremonial observances everywhere in England to-day co-exist with active parochial and missionary work, and are regarded by practical men, perfectly free from effeminate sentimentalism, as important adjuncts in their labours. In short, Ritualism is not employed as a side-wind by which to bring in certain tenets surreptitiously, but as the natural complement to those tenets after they have been long and sedulously inculcated." [4]

Moreover we are told that, whereas "Tractarianism in its earlier phases was only a "religion for gentlemen," it has now taken a shape which will enable it to wrest the middle classes of our people from dissent, to civilise and Christianise those poorer classes which have hitherto been either neglected altogether, or approached in a manner which had no effect on them; that, whereas its earlier time was a "Tory stage," it has "now practically assumed a democratic aspect, of which the vigorous anti-pew movement is an exponent." [5] And as another token of progress, we find that the epithet "histrionic," by which (even although he added a qualifying "almost") the late Bishop of London gave deadly offence to the ceremonialists of 1850, is now boldly appropriated by the more advanced and more outspoken ritualists of the present day, who do not scruple to avow themselves histrionic, both almost and altogether.

"It is," says Dr. Littledale, "an axiom in liturgiology that no public worship is really deserving of its name unless it be histrionic. Histrionic for three reasons:—First, because it is an attempt to imitate and represent on earth what Christians believe to be going on in heaven. Secondly, because this representation is partly effected by the employment of material symbols, to shadow forth invisible powers. Thirdly, because personal action rather than passive receptivity is the essence of its character. The whole histrionic principle is conceded and hallowed by the

[4] 'The Church and the World,' p. 31.

[5] Ib. pp. 35, 36, 41.

two most sacred rites of the Christian religion; Baptism, which physically suggests the idea of moral cleansing, and the Holy Eucharist, which shows forth the broken Body and the outpoured Blood, at the same time that it presents to the mind the notion of sustenance."[6]

We copy this merely as evidence of the change which has taken place; but in order to appreciate the passage, let the reader substitute for the word "histrionic" any of the equivalents which are given by Johnson—"Befitting the stage; suitable to a player; becoming a buffoon; theatrical."

Within the last twelve months the ultra-ritualists and their system have been much before the public. Their more remarkable functions and celebrations have filled a large space in the newspapers. The subject has been discussed in both Houses of Convocation, and even in Parliament. A Committee of the lower House of Convocation has drawn up an elaborate report on it; certain archbishops and bishops, "a majority of the English bench,"[7] have submitted some of the chief points of ultra-ritualistic usage in the form of a case to four eminent counsel; and an attempt has since been made by the ultra-ritualists, with very indifferent success, to draw out from nine other learned lawyers an opinion which might be set against the unfavourable conclusions of the four. And, as was to have been expected, ultra-ritualism has been a chief topic in the late episcopal charges, among which it is hardly necessary to say that the charge addressed to the clergy of St. David's is conspicuous for the deep learning, the vigorous thought, the acute penetration, the calm and independent judgment, the grave, keen, and subtle humour, the well-weighed and forcible language, which in their combination give to Bishop Thirlwall's charges a character altogether unique.

[6] 'The Church and the World,' pp. 28-9.

[7] Bishop of St. David's 'Charge,' p. 76.

The ultra-ritualists themselves are much given to boasting loudly of their progress. One of them, who was Secretary to an "Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art," lately assured us that they are "a large and increasing, if not actually the largest, party in the Church;"[8] and, although this is only an instance of that exaggerated self-importance which (as we know by the case of the Three of Tooley Street) is apt to be produced by vestiary occupations, there can be no doubt that their numbers are considerable, or that they are bent on doing their utmost to swell their following and to extend their influence. We therefore think it worth while to lay before our readers such materials as the necessary limitation of our space will allow us to bring together for estimating the character and merits of a movement which so imperiously claims our admiration and submission.

Among the books named in the heading of our article we may first notice Mr. Perry's volume on 'Lawful Church Ornaments,' which appeared so long ago as 1857. A more unskilful piece of literary workmanship, a more wearisome trial of the conscientious reader's patience, than this extra-large octavo of about 650 pages, it would be very difficult to find. There is no intelligible method; for any one who is moderately acquainted with the history of our Church from the Reformation to the reign of Charles II., there is hardly any novelty of matter;[9] the burden of the whole is a dull and dreary reiteration of Mr. Perry's fancy that whatever articles of church ornament were sanctioned by the mediæval canons are

[8] 'Times,' Oct. 30, 1866.

[9] Mr. Perry actually knows no better than to copy (p. 256) from Grindal's 'Injunctions' a prohibition of "holy-water stocks, or *fat* images," with the Parker Society editor's ridiculous explanation, "Solid images, as distinguished from pictures." We had thought that every one who cared about the matter was aware of the true reading, "holy water stocks or fats, images," &c. [See the Second Report of the Ritual Commission, p. 414.] The blunder is repeated at p. 336.

still lawful in the Reformed English Church, unless expressly forbidden by later legislation. Of the manner in which this astounding conclusion is worked out it is impossible to give any idea. Mr. Perry seems to be quite incapable of rational argument; he appears to see no difference between "which was to be demonstrated" and "which is absurd." If, for instance, a person of opinions strongly opposed to Rome is found complaining that a number of Romish ceremonies are kept up in certain quarters some months after the appearance of the first Reformed Prayer-Book, Mr. Perry, instead of understanding that this is a complaint of disobedience to the Prayer-Book, assumes that the silence of that book as to the things in question was intended to continue the sanction of them.[10] If a foreign reformer, writing from England, expresses fear that certain things may be retained in a forthcoming Prayer-Book, and if out of four such things three are retained by name, Mr. Perry concludes from the absence of all mention of the fourth, not that it was excluded, but that it must have been retained too![11] These and other such arguments might perhaps be supposed to be the tricks of a dishonest controversialist, presuming on the party feelings and on the ignorance of those for whom he wrote; but as they re-appear in the case submitted to counsel on the part of the Church Union, we must acquit the man who thought them good enough for skilled lawyers of anything worse than hopeless wrong-headedness. Mr. Perry, however, seems to be the great authority of his party on matters of dress and ornament: for he is cited as such throughout the 'Directorium;'[12] and in addition to laying on us the heavy load of his big octavo, he appears in 'The Church and the World' as the author of a long paper on the 'Reasonable Limits of Lawful Ritualism;' in Mr. J. H. Blunt's 'Annotated

[10] 'The Church and the World,' p. 468. [11] Ib. p. 466.

[12] See the Preface, p. xxxi.

Prayer-Book,"[13] as discussing "Ecclesiastical Vestments," and "The Accessories of Divine Service;" and lastly, as editor (and apparently author too) of the "Case" to which we have just referred. It is, no doubt, a great thing to be at the head of one's department, whatever that department may be; but Mr. Perry's success is a convincing proof that the highest eminence may be attained in the science of ecclesiastical furniture and dresses with a wonderfully small amount of knowledge and an utter want of common sense.

In the same year with the heavy treatise on 'Lawful Church Ornaments' appeared the 'Directorium Anglicanum,' edited by the Rev. J. Purchas. The second edition, under the care of Dr. Lee, was not published until 1865, but Directorianism has lately attracted so much of general interest that a third edition has already been called for. The illustrations of the first and second editions (for each has a set of prints different from the other) are significant as to the development which Ritualism had undergone during the interval of seven or eight years. Thus, whereas the original frontispiece represents some early stage in the celebration of the Eucharist, the frontispiece of the second edition displays "the elevation of the chalice," which in the mean time had been added to the stock of ceremonies. In the first edition, there are two candles on the altar and two at the sides; but in the second edition there are eight additional candles and four pots of flowers on what (we think) is called the super-altar.[14] There are also some variations of dress between these frontispieces, which we have not enough of Mr. Perry's learning to appreciate or to describe. But, on

[13] London, 1866. There is a great deal of valuable information in this handsome and comprehensive volume, but we regret to say that the book is throughout marred by the spirit of the party, and cannot be recommended as a trustworthy guide. [See Appendix VI.]

[14] [The more correct word is now said to be *retable*.]

a general comparison of the two sets of plates, no one can help being struck by the fact that the clergy of the party in 1865, while more richly adorned by the tailor than those of 1857, are decidedly much worse-looking both in features and in expression. The "acolyte," from a tall young man carrying a flagon, has dwindled down to a little boy with a girdle round his waist and armed with a censer. In a second view of a chancel, the candles have become far more alarming in the later edition, so as to suggest the likelihood of a conflagration; and whereas in 1857 the altar was surmounted by an ornamental cross, this has in 1865 been superseded by a crucifix. In these respects generally the third edition, which is of a smaller size, and with cuts on a reduced scale, agrees with the second.

The Dean of Ely, in defending the report of the Committee of Convocation against a charge of undue gentleness towards the ultra-ritualists, is reported to have said:—

"We might have taken that absurd book the *Directorium Anglicanum*, we might have tied it to Ritualism, as a kettle is tied to a dog's tail; then we might have shouted 'Mad dog!' and have run it to death. I confess, however, that that is not the sort of treatment which I think it would have been prudent in Christians to apply to the ritualists." [15]

But as the 'Directorium' has never been disavowed—as it numbers among its contributors some of the most shining lights of the party, and appears to be in fact the rule of their performances—we must think that this forbearance showed more of tenderness than of justice. Assuredly the book deserves to the fullest degree the epithet which Dean Goodwin applied to it. There is in it a general tone of fatuous solemnity which is at once ludicrous and provoking; and perhaps the most comical of the effects are produced by the affectation of assuming

[15] 'Chronicle of Convocation,' June 26, 1866, p. 404.

that the ideal of the ultra-ritualists is actually and ordinarily realised in the practice of English clergymen. Here, for instance, is the beginning of the directions for the ordination of deacons:—

"The bishop will enter the cathedral church vested in purple cassock, rochet, chimere, episcopal ring, zucchetto, and birretta. If he do not vest in the sacristy, he will receive his vestments from the altar. . . . On reaching the faldstool, the bishop will remove his birretta, and deliver it to the deacon, who will hand it to the sub-deacon, who in his turn will deliver it to an acolyte. He will wear the zucchetto till the assumption of the mitre. The gloves will be carried on a salver. . . . The bishop, on being vested with the dalmatic, sits down, and the deacon removes the episcopal ring, and hands it to the sub-deacon to place on a salver held by an acolyte for that function. The gloves are then presented on a salver, and should be so arranged that the right may lie at the side of the deacon, and the left at that of the sub-deacon. In putting on the gloves, the deacon assists at the right and the sub-deacon at the left."—(pp. 223-4.)

And so on. Many of the clergy, it is to be feared, will find themselves convicted by this book of offences as to a multitude of things in which they never dreamt of offending. How many of them, for instance, are aware that "no shirt-collars, no gloves, nor rings should be worn, the hair should be short, and the face shaven" (p. 23)? How many of those who are chaplains have worn their scarfs of the right colour, viz. "the colour of the nobleman's livery to whom the cleric is chaplain" (p. 359)? How many know a *birretta* from a *zucchetto*, or have worn either of these outlandish articles as we are assured by the 'Directorium' that it was their duty to do? How many are aware that the opening sentences of Morning and Evening Prayer, and the sentences of the Offertory, are "not exhortations but antiphons," and are therefore to be chanted by the priest with his back turned towards the people?[16] How many have duly observed

[16] 'Directorium,' p. 145; 'The Church and the World,' p. 541.

the precept that in entering the choir, the "epistoler, gospeller, and celebrant" should walk "with bodies erect and eyes turned to the ground" (p. 45)? How many have known and have acted on the golden rule that "the hands of all the ministers should be joined before the breast, with the fingers extended, and the right thumb placed over the left in the form of a cross, when kneeling . . . The feet are put close together. In sitting, the legs should not be crossed, and the hands should be placed in the lap" (pp. 45, 146)? How many of them know how to exorcise and to bless the water and the salt, in order to the manufacture of "holy water" (pp. 300-1)? Nay, how many would know even what to do with the precious compound, if they had got it? We might go on long enough quoting this sort of nonsense, although we should feel ourselves debarred from a great part of the book by the painful contrast between the wretched pettiness of the directions and the seriousness of the subject to which they relate. Mr. Medd indeed tells us, "that reverent care about the minutest accessories is but the natural and spontaneous expression of the full believer's faith and love, the unstudied outflow of an affection which truly believes and thoroughly realises."[17] But to any one except an ultra-ritualist it must seem strange that this "unstudied outflow" should take the form of a "rabbinical minuteness" (as it has been termed by the Bishop of St. David's, p. 90), such as seems hardly compatible with any real sense of the belief which these complicated antics encumber.

The latest work of considerable size which the ultra-ritualists have as yet put forth is the volume of Essays, by eighteen writers, edited by Mr. Shipley. In this we have the principles of the party enunciated more clearly than elsewhere. The papers are of various merit and demerit; some of them do not exhibit any peculiarities of

[17] 'The Church and the World,' p. 343.

the school, and it appears, from an unpleasant correspondence which has been published, that the editor and one of his contributors, Canon Trevor, were mistaken in supposing themselves to be nearly alike in opinions. There are also considerable differences of style and manner between the various writers. Some are especially distinguished by audacity of assertion and flippancy of tone; some carry to a greater extent than others the assumption which is a general characteristic of the party; some affect a mouthy, quasi-prophetic oracularity, while others seem eager to show that they can "deliver their message like men of this world." Mr. Shipley himself is chiefly noticeable for a sort of superfine affectation, of which the following passage may serve as a specimen :—

"Bearing in mind, then, the sequence and terminology of the Caroline Liturgy, the details of the office which was gradually arranged and deliberately accepted by the English Church, when she decided to use an order in a language understanded of the people (and which, it cannot be too often repeated, has the authority of past generations), now require consideration. I restrict myself to details, because the two organic divisions of the several offices into the ordinary and canon, are the same in both; although, as will be seen, the relative positions of the subordinate portions have been very considerably altered."—(p. 512.)

Again :—

"For if a flaw in the Church authority for any document at a certain date be at all comparable to an error in an early stage of a mathematical problem, the accuracy of every subsequent process can no more rectify the original mistake in the calculation than the later sanction of the Church, I apprehend, can legitimately dispense with the absence of Convocational authority for the document in the first stage of its history."—(p. 507.)

Here it will be seen that, besides the palpable want of correspondence between the illustration and the thing to be illustrated, the two are actually made to change places with each other. But Mr. Shipley's style appears to

indicate fairly the quality of his mind, and to give us the measure of his powers as a reasoner.

Nothing is more striking in the writings of the ultra-ritualists, than the contrast between the complacency with which they speak of themselves, and the contempt which they loudly express for all other sections of the English Church. As a specimen of this tone, which continually recurs throughout their pages, we may quote the following passage from Dr. Littledale, who seems to be a personage of great authority among them:—

"If the *argumentum ad verecundiam* were one of much weight in the present day, it would be sufficient to point out that [as to the construction of a certain rubric] on the one side are ranged all those persons who accept in its fulness the language of the primitive Liturgies and the ancient Fathers touching the Holy Eucharist, who are competent, after long study, to pronounce with some degree of authority on the meaning of Rubrics, and who have shown themselves, by diligent use, the most faithful adherents of the Book of Common Prayer. On the other side are found ranked together all those whose Eucharistic teaching is, to say no more, entirely modern, and all those who agitate for more or less sweeping alterations in the Anglican formularies, while possessing a most imperfect acquaintance with liturgiology, and exhibiting a very modified respect for rubrics or canons."[18] . . . "On the one side are ranked the Puritan, the Broad Church, the Establishmentarian, and the 'High and Dry' sections. On the other, the smaller but far more vigorous and active school which still pushes on the great Catholic Revival."[19]

This same writer tells us that "Tractarians are the only Anglicans who so much as profess to be guided by primitive Christian precedent on the one hand, and by English canon and rubrical law on the other."[20] He cannot quote the Bishop of London's testimony that "the ritualist clergy of his diocese are, he believes, in many

[18] 'The North Side of the Altar,' pp. 4, 5. [19] Ib. p. 3.
[20] 'The Church and the World,' p. 27.

instances, severely injuring their health by their sedulous ministrations amongst the poor in some of the worst parts of London," without adding that his lordship "has not hitherto expressed any similar opinion as to the members of the other sections, nor is it metaphysically certain that he would be justified in doing so."[21] As to the offer of religious privileges, Dr. Littledale tells us that "while the Tractarian 'compels men to come in' to the spiritual banquet, the Puritan is content with distributing some broken fragments of the repast to loiterers in the high-ways, and the Latitudinarian neither feasts himself nor invites a guest, but tells the police to make Lazarus move on."[22] The failures of all other parties to evangelise thoroughly either our home population or the heathen in foreign lands are dwelt on by one writer after another with malicious exaggeration, and even with an appearance of delight. To Dr. Littledale it seems to be matter of satisfaction that, through the mismanagement of "high and dry and Puritan ecclesiastics," "the shopkeepers and artisans have gone to dissent, and the labourers have gone to the devil;"[23] and, as it is the practice of quack-doctors to begin their operations by throwing discredit on all regular practitioners, and by making the most of all symptoms of disease, so these gentlemen delight to draw fearful pictures of irreligion and immorality as prevailing everywhere, and then proceed to announce themselves as the only men for a cure.

"In prospect of a battle with unbelief," says Mr. Baring-Gould, "we must review our ranks, and see what bodies of men will be best fitted to endure the brunt of the fight. And we think that there can be no question that the real battle will rage between the Catholic party in the Church of England and the Freethinkers. Little support can be expected from the Low Churchmen. They

[21] 'The Church and the World,' p. 28. [22] Ib. p. 42.

[23] Ib. p. 40. Compare Baring-Gould 'On the Revival of Religious Confraternities,' *passim*.

are desultory skirmishers, and their place will probably be, like David's warriors, to 'tarry by the stuff.'"[24]

We must indeed admit that, for dealing with the more ignorant classes of society, the ultra-ritualists possess certain advantages in that confidence of assertion and in that readiness to abuse all who are above them, which they have in common with the lowest teachers of radicalism and infidelity. But if our main hope is to rest on them in any struggle which may be expected between Christian faith and the unbelief of educated men, our prospects are indeed deplorable. Of course, however, any objections which one who is not an ultra-ritualist may make to the party must proceed from motives of the basest and most hateful kind:—

"The real secret of the intense hostility which has been manifested of late is that the ritual movement is obviously a successful missionary agency; and those sections of the Church which are either non-missionary in their essence, or which have lost the missionary spirit, naturally object to a course of procedure which is not merely a tacit reproach to them, but which visibly thins their following."[25]

In short, all parties and sections in our Church are utterly wrong, except the ultra-ritualists; and if any one, after showing sympathy with them in some degree, should hesitate to go all lengths with them, the treatment of Archdeacon Freeman in the 'Directorium Anglicanum' may teach him what he has to expect. The original editor, Mr. Purchas, had thanked Mr. Freeman for "permission to make extensive use of his erudite and noble work on 'The Principles of Divine Service,'" and for "the elaborate corrections and important additions which the 'Directorium' received from its author."[26] The Archdeacon, however, has since found it necessary to speak out

[24] 'The Church and the World,' p. 100.
[25] Littledale, in 'The Church and the World,' p. 32.
[26] 'Direct. Angl.' p. xxxi.

as to the "unjustifiable" character of the publication, and in consequence of this he is handled as follows by Dr. Lee, in the Preface to the third edition:—[27]

"The *Directorium* has likewise received the advantage of Archdeacon Freeman's public reprehension, which the editor of the second edition sincerely regards as a very valuable compliment."

And then follows this note:—

"This clergyman, before he became a canon and archdeacon, assisted the original editor in its compilation"—

politely hinting that the Archdeacon's promotion had led him to disavow the opinions of his earlier days; although the original editor had expressly stated that Mr. Freeman was

"not to be identified, either as a ritualist or as a theologian, with every direction in this manual."—(p. xxxi.)

Archdeacons and canons, however, are very humble game for these soaring birds to stoop to, and their main fury is reserved for the bishops. There is no longer anything of that inconsistency between the profession of abject reverence and the practice of habitual insult and defiance which used formerly to startle us in the behaviour of Tractarians towards their bishops. True it is that the 'Directorium' is, "with every feeling of profound respect, most humbly dedicated to the archbishops and bishops in visible communion with the see of Canterbury," and that a copy of the volume of Essays was solemnly presented to the Upper House of Convocation; but these are merely such pleasantries as some extreme Protestants have indulged in by dedicating their works to the Pope, and in general the anti-episcopal spirit now shows itself without even the pretence of formal respect for those against whom

[27] 'Direct. Angl.' pp. xlix. l.

it is directed. Dr. Littledale, for instance, after telling us that—

"Grindal's theory of his episcopal authority was that it was given him for the purpose of enabling him to put down with a high hand whatever he disliked, whether legal or not"—

adds

"Such a method of government is not so perfectly unlike that of some diocesans of a much later day that it need excite any surprise."[28]

And the application of this passage may perhaps be in some degree understood by comparing it with the following extract from a letter written by Mr. Stuart, of St. Mary Magdalene's, Munster Square, and adopted into the 'Directorium' by Dr. Lee:—

"I must protest against the miserable, trembling, cowardly attitude which [a correspondent of the 'Guardian' newspaper] recommends the clergy to assume towards their bishops If the Bishop of London is inclined to 'run-a-muck' at Catholic faith and Catholic worship, by all means let him do so. If he wishes to puritanize the Church, as I believe he does, let him take all lawful means towards his object; and if we wish to Catholicize the Church, as we avowedly do, let us take all lawful means towards our object, too; and God defend the right!

"Who is this awful despot, this terrible Turk, this Pope *in posse*, who is ready to cut off all our heads in five minutes if we 'provoke' him? He is a constitutional officer of the Church, and himself subject to its laws as much as any one else."[29]

Dr. Littledale despises the bishops for their ignorance of "Liturgiology," and is angry with them for their consequent misbehaviour when obliged to officiate in the churches of the party:—

"It is very seldom that an accomplished ritualist is permitted to celebrate in a non-ritual church; but every one has seen the manner in which strange celebrants, episcopal and

[28] 'Elevation of the Host,' p. 21.

[29] 'Directorium,' p. xl.

others, deliberately ignore and set at nought the use of some churches where they chance to officiate." [30]

But "Liturgiology" is by no means the only subject as to which the bishops are culpably in darkness. The Bishop of Ely is, according Mr. Medd, "one among the few members of the episcopal bench who enjoy any reputation for theological acquirement;" but even *his* acquirements are not, in Mr. Medd's opinion, sufficient to save him from gross error in the attempt to understand the ultra-ritualistic doctrine:—[31]

"Little," says the same writer, "do some of our Fathers in God seem to reck of the anguish, not unmixed with indignation, caused to faithful souls by the shallow denials of unpopular truths into which they sometimes allow themselves to be drawn." [32]

And he tells us that the bishops in Wesley's time,

"like some of their successors of the present day, could only try to trample out a religious energy which they had neither the grace to appreciate nor the wisdom to control." [33]

Still more distinct is Mr. Baring-Gould:—

"The episcopal boot is so accustomed to descend on every spark of vitality in the stubble of the Establishment, that perhaps it will follow the precedent—the illustrious precedent—of the Wesleyan schism, and stamp out all this zeal for God and His Church." [34]

Again:—

"Courage in the cause of God and the Church is at present not one of the characteristics of her dignitaries; and it may be questioned whether, when a Bill is introduced for the altering of the vestments of the priesthood, the episcopal mitre should not be abolished also, as antiquated, to make way for the more appropriate symbol of the white feather. The Anglican

[30] 'North Side of the Altar,' p. 4.
[31] 'The Church and the World,' p. 344.
[32] Ib. p. 347.
[33] Ib. p. 350.
[34] Ib. p. 106.

prelates have so diligently accumulated straws wherewith to break the camel's back, that the poor beast will kick over the load, and decline to submit his back to other burden than that laid on him by Providence—his own hump."[35]

Perhaps it may be thought that the faults which are so freely charged on the English bishops are traceable to the circumstance of their "owing their position and the enjoyment of their emoluments to the state."[36] But no; for Dr. Littledale tells us that—

"The same short-sightedness [as in the days when Episcopacy was established in Scotland] still, unhappily, marks the spiritual rulers of the Scottish Church; and, at a time when Presbyterianism is evidently breaking up from its old moorings and drifting away into unknown seas, they stifle the natural expression of the devotional life of their liturgical Church, and deter converts at the same time that they lawlessly oppress their own flocks."[37]

In short, Episcopacy, whether endowed or unendowed, is in the eyes of these gentlemen a system of illegal and abominable tyranny; and whereas we used to be told that in former days it was the practice of Jesuits and other Romish emissaries to work their mischiefs against the English Church in the disguise of Puritans, Independents, Quakers, and the like, we now find that the profession of extreme high-churchmanship is a cloak for the successors of Martin Marprelate and Smectymnuus. As for any promise which they may have made at ordination or at any other time to obey their spiritual superiors, "following with a glad mind and will their godly admonitions, and submitting themselves to their godly judgments," they tell the bishops (as Bishop Blomfield was told even in 1850)[38] that this is to be understood of such admonitions and judgments only

[35] 'The Church and the World,' pp. 107-8. [36] Ib. p. 107.

[37] Ib. p. 49. [The spirit of contempt for bishops appears to be equally violent among the ultra-ritualists of the American Church. See the 'Guardian,' Nov. 18, 1868.]

[38] See his Charge of that year.

as can be enforced by a decree of court—that the "glad mind and will" mean a reluctant and growling submission to the unavoidable sentence of law.[39] And even at admonitions and judgments of this sort they can afford, as Archdeacon Lord Arthur Hervey says, to "snap their fingers, because the Church Union would subscribe to bear a clergyman harmless who provokes the action of his ecclesiastical superiors." [40]

"I confess," said the Archbishop of Canterbury,[41] in language which Dean Stanley has truly characterised as dignified and almost pathetic, "I have witnessed with deep sorrow the tone of defiance with which the recently introduced practices have in some instances been supported. I fear that such advocates know not what spirit they are of, and would fain hope they may still learn to adopt something more of Christian moderation and Christian humility . . . that they may be more ready to lend a willing ear to the pastoral and paternal counsels of those who are over them in the Lord." [42]

Nor, if they despise bishops, is there any other authority to which they are disposed to submit, except through sheer compulsion:—

"If," said the Dean of Westminster, in the Lower House of Convocation (Feb. 9, 1866), "the opinion of this House, or the legal opinion we procure, is in their favour, the ritualists will receive it with great approbation; but if it be against them, they will, if we may judge by their past conduct towards bishops and archbishops and the Canons of 1604, treat it with the utmost contempt."

[39] See the Speech of the Dean of Ely in Convocation, Feb. 8, 1866.

[40] Chron. of Convocation, June 26, 1866, p. 418.

[41] [Throughout this paper the title of Archbishop of Canterbury is to be understood as meaning Archbishop Longley, and the present Primate is spoken of as Bishop of London. Although many other changes of position and title have taken place among eminent persons who are mentioned, these are the only cases which it seems necessary to notice for the sake of preventing mistakes as to identity. 1869.]

[42] Answer to Address of the English Church Union ('Guardian,' Feb. 7, 1866).

For judges their contempt is as strong as for bishops, and whenever any decision of a court has swept away some of the pretensions which they had before most confidently set up, they employ their ingenuity in finding out what details of their system may have been overlooked in the condemnation, and what evasive tricks may be practised on the words of the sentence :—

"Pauca tamen suberunt priscæ vestigia fraudis."[43]

Thus, whereas the Privy Council decided, in the case of the Knightsbridge and Pimlico churches, that the "fair white linen cloth" which the rubric prescribes for use on the communion-table must not be edged with lace, or adorned with embroidery, the editor of the 'Directorium' draws the distinction that *embroidery* is not "*every kind* of work," but only "that particular kind of work which entirely covers the surface of the original material;" and he triumphs in the discovery that "the judgment does not, however, prohibit lace on the 'linen cloth' used for covering what remains of the blessed Sacrament after the communion of the priest and people."[44] On occasion of the same judgment, a lay member of the party, Mr. John David Chambers, who is described by the editor of the 'Directorium' as an "eminent barrister,"[45] indited a letter to a newspaper, "for the guidance of clergymen and churchwardens" whom he supposed to be looking to him for advice. In this letter it is laid down that although, according to the judgment, the linen cloth "must be wholly white, and without any lace, embroidery, or other ornament," yet, in the eminent barrister's opinion,

"Fringes, borders, and interwoven patterns may be used of the fairest and most beautiful and delicate variety, so long as they are not attached or worked by hand, but are textile; only a part or a mere prolongation of the tissue of the linen cloth itself, and not additions thereto."

[43] Virg. Ecl. iv. 31. [44] p. xxxiii. [45] p. 340.

Then again, as the Court had ruled that the communion-table must be of wood, the judgment must be complied with;

"I see, however," says Mr. Chambers, "no reason why a small slab of stone may not be let into the surface at the place of consecration. There are no directions that the table shall be wholly of wood; and this small piece would not affect its moveability, or deprive it of the character of a table of wood."

And in this strain the letter goes on through nearly six pages of small type.[46] But our readers have probably had enough for the present of this learned gentleman, although perhaps he may fall in our way again hereafter.

While the ultra-ritualists profess to be the only true and conscientious members of the English Church, they lavish their contempt on everything connected with it. The whole policy of our Church since the Reformation is regarded by them as a series of stupid blunders.[47] In the wild and chimerical schemes which they are fond of projecting for the re-union of Christendom, it is always supposed that the English Church is that which owes humiliating concessions and explanations to the Greeks and to the Romanists;[48] and not only do they abuse the Thirty-nine Articles, as some of their predecessors had done, while labouring to put a Roman sense on them,[49] but the Prayer-

[46] 'Directorium,' pp. 340-6.

[47] See Baring-Gould, in 'The Church and the World,' p. 98.

[48] See on this the Bishop of St. David's 'Charge,' pp. 105, *seqq.* Mr. Blenkinsopp carries us back to the quarrels between the Roman and the British parties in England 1200 years ago, by gravely laying down that among the points which are to be got over in treating for union with the Greek Church are—the calculation of Easter and the wearing of the beard. As to this last point, indeed, he thinks that "perhaps now we may say we are alike" ('The Church and the World,' 192-3, 196-8). But we have already seen that the 'Directorium' (p. 3) is peremptory for shaving.

[49] Blenkinsopp, p. 202. We must protest against an idea which has been expressed, not only by the extreme high-church party, from Dr. Pusey ('Eirenicon,' p. 30-2) down to Mr. Blenkinsopp, but (in a very different interest) by Dean Stanley ('Contemp. Review,' April, 1866, p. 544)—that

Book itself is now held up to derision. For an example of this, we may refer to Mr. Shipley's essay on 'The Liturgies of 1549 and 1662,' p. 514-5. Dr. Littledale thinks that our service, unless accompanied by the new embellishments, is of all services the least attractive.

"There is nothing to impress the eye, nothing to quicken the attention, nothing to make the breath come short or the pulse beat quicker. There is not the sense of awful, brooding calm, which those who know what a Presbyterian communion-day in Scotland is, when conducted by ministers of a high stamp, will remember with respect. There is not the swing and heartiness of a Wesleyan meeting. There is not the mysterious and symbolical pomp of a Roman Catholic church."[50]

But perhaps the most vehement of all the party in this direction is Mr. Baring-Gould, who has, we believe, published a book about wehrwolves, and seems to have himself acquired from his studies somewhat of a lycanthropic character. He tells us that—

"The Prayer-Book is to the ignorant man a puzzle. What knows he of the sublime perfections of 'the wicked man'? Nor is the 'Dearly beloved' calculated to convince him of all, judge him of all, and make him fall down on his face, and repeat that God is in us of a truth."[51]

Again—

"Let us suppose that a collier, who reads with difficulty, has had his heart touched, and is persuaded by the parson to come to church. He opens his book at Morning Prayer. The first words he sees are, 'When the wicked man,' &c.; but the priest

because the late republication of Tract XC. did not excite a renewal of the agitation which attended its first appearance a quarter of a century before, the principles of that Tract are now generally admitted. The real reason why little or nothing has been said against it now is, that the old condemnation, not only by the Oxford authorities, but by the general feeling and conscience of churchmen, is considered sufficient. See as to this the Bishop of London's Charge of 1866.

[50] 'The Church and the World,' p. 41.

[51] Ib. p. 93.

begins 'If we say that we have no sin,' &c. This puts our friend out till he has discovered the sentence, and in the mean time, 'Dearly beloved' is half over, and this exhortation, consisting of three long-winded sentences of a most involved nature, is to him so much Chinese."

The rest of the service is then described in a like strain of refined humour, until at last we are told that

"Like the story of the Bear and Fiddle—in the very middle of the Communion-service, off go the congregation out of church. Our collier strokes his head and says, 'Enough of Sunday hide-and-seek! I'm off to the Ranters. I don't like to look like a fool amongst folk what knows their book. I'm no scollard; so church ain't t' place for me." [52]

We quite allow that a member of the English Church might fairly express an opinion as to the desirableness of greater simplicity and elasticity in her offices, with a view to special purposes; but the flippant stuff which we have quoted from Mr. Gould is something very different from the expression of a well-affected Churchman's wishes. The upshot of this gentleman's meditations is, that if he and his friends may not be allowed to carry everything their own way, they will fall back on the monastic system; for as this, in former times, admitted of exemption from all authority except that of the Pope, and as the ultra-ritualists are not at present inclined to acknowledge any Pope, the system of "religious life" offers to Mr. Gould the attraction of freedom from all superior authority. While Italy is getting rid of her monks and friars as an intolerable burden, Mr. Gould sees in the revival of these orders the means of re-invigorating our effete national Church and of regaining for it the affections of the people, to a degree of which we can as yet have no idea. And if (although this is not stated) episcopal ordination should be wanted for any members of the proposed "Confraternities," it may

[52] 'The Church and the World,' p. 101-2.

doubtless be had on very reasonable terms from the French gentleman who, after having been a Dominican friar at Rome, a Presbyterian missionary at Damascus, assistant minister at a dissenting meeting-house in London, and an unsuccessful applicant for parochial or missionary work in connection with the Church of England, professes to have been lately consecrated by some Oriental sectarian prelate as "Julius, Bishop of Iona," with jurisdiction over the whole of Western Christendom.[53]

We have already noticed the tendency of the ultra-ritualists to slipperiness and evasion. But perhaps those of our readers who are not familiar with the publications of the party may be little prepared for the degree to which it is held that evasion may be lawfully carried; and it will be well to illustrate this by an example. Archbishop Laud, and his contemporary Wren, Bishop of Ely, were charged with popish motives for standing at the west side of the holy table at consecration, and for introducing a rubric in accordance with their own practice into the Prayer-Book intended for Scotland. They denied the charge with indignation, alleging that they had stood at the west side merely for reasons of convenience—as both of them were "short of stature," and the English rubric at that time left the matter open; and with regard to the rubric of the Scotch book, the Archbishop declared the only object of it to be "ease and decency," adding "I protest in the presence of Almighty God, I know of no other intention than this."[54] Dr. Littledale, however, cites these two prelates as authorities for consecrating at the west side of the table, and he deals with their disavowals as follows:—

"It has been objected that they put their practice in the matter of celebration on the lowest ground of physical convenience when assailed on the subject, and said nothing at all

[53] The strange details of this case may be found in late numbers of the 'Guardian.' Dr. Lee, of the 'Directorium,' appears to be the chief patron of Bishop Julius.

[54] Works, ed. Angl. Cath. Lib., vol. iii. p. 346.

about ritual propriety. We who, in our own day, have known lights on the altar excused on the ground of the darkness of a chancel, need feel no surprise at their employing the only argument to which their adversaries would condescend to listen."[55]

Dr. Littledale's carelessness in citing authorities is, indeed, so gross and so habitual that we can readily acquit him of having had Laud's solemn protestation before his eyes or in his mind when he wrote this. But even if he supposed the denial to have been made without any special appeal to the Almighty, what a strange light is thrown by these words on the morality of the writer! While we reject with indignant disgust the suggestion that Laud and Wren rested their defence on grounds which they knew to be false, we must regard the passage as evidence of the views entertained by Dr. Littledale, and by those to whom he refers for a parallel, as to the liberties which may be taken with truth. Yet these are the men whose tenderness of conscience is such as to be disturbed by apprehensions that the number of collects in some part of the church-service may in certain circumstances be even, whereas, for some mysterious reason, they hold that it ought always to be odd![56]

We have already seen that this peculiar tenderness of conscience interprets the ordination vow of glad obedience to ecclesiastical superiors as meaning nothing else than compulsory submission to judicial sentences; we have seen that the ultra-ritualists are in the habit of boasting that the law is altogether on their side; and (as in the instance of Mr. Stuart's insolent challenge to his diocesan[57]) that they are in the habit of daring all who may differ from them to meet them in the law-courts. No doubt this sort of vapouring looks very courageous; but surely even the persons who indulge in it must understand that there is no equality of terms between themselves and those to

[55] 'North Side of the Altar,' p. 23.

[56] 'Directorium,' pp. 50-2.

[57] See above, p. 282.

whom their defiances are thrown out. It costs an ultra-ritualist nothing to perform a feat which he knows or suspects to be illegal; but the illegality of it cannot be brought home to him until after long delay and much anxiety, at a frightful cost of money, and at the risk of incurring the odium which is popularly attached to everything that can be represented as persecution. And as to their boasts of having the law in their favour, although the earlier ceremonialists were able to make out a case to their own satisfaction (assuredly not to that of anybody else) so long as they were left to construe the law for themselves, we unlearned people have of late years gradually gathered so much from legal judgments and opinions as may set us very much at ease on this point. We now know on authority, that where a law is not clear in itself, it is not to be interpreted by any gloss that the words can be strained to bear, however manifestly paradoxical, evasive, or contrary to the known intentions of the authors; but that it is to be construed on principles which are established in the courts; that reason and common sense are not excluded from the investigations of law any more than from those of history; that among other things, usage is to be taken into consideration; while "contemporaneous exposition," as gathered from the documents and the actions of the time, and from the works of writers who lived in it or near it, will carry great weight in "every court of law in England."[58] Stone altars, once maintained with the boldest confidence, have been swept away by judicial decisions. Lights on the altar have been barely saved for the time by an affidavit stating that in the church as to which the question had been raised they were used only for the purpose of giving necessary light—a purpose for which the 'Directorium' considers that it is almost sacrilegious to burn them, inasmuch as they ought to

[58] Dr. Lushington, in Moore's 'Report,' p. 38; 'Opinion of Sir R. Palmer,' &c., p. 48, folio ed.; Shaw in 'Contemp. Rev.,' Jan. 1866, p. 5.

be kept for the celebration of the Eucharist (p. 13). And most especially a fatal blow has been dealt to a theory on which Mr. Perry's whole book on 'Lawful Church Ornaments' is founded—the theory that, as certain Acts of Henry VIII. for a reformation of ecclesiastical laws allowed the old canons, &c., to remain in force (unless "contrariant or repugnant to the laws and customs of this realm") until the projected revision should be executed, and as that project has never yet been carried into effect,—the ornaments sanctioned by the mediæval canons had "authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI.;" whence it would follow that they are at this day prescribed by the rubric, which orders that the ornaments so authorised "shall be retained and be in use."[59] Mr. John David Chambers, indeed, tells us that the Privy Council, in deciding the cases of Westerton and Beal against Liddell, "most culpably" declined to go into this question.[60] Perhaps it may be thought by ordinary people that Lord Kingsdown and his colleagues were likely to understand their own business fully as well as the "eminent barrister" whose censure they have incurred. But although it is true that they did not argue or decide the question as to the validity of the canons, they *did* settle the matter which was really before them, by stating that, "after much consideration," they were "satisfied that the word *ornaments* in this rubric is confined to those articles the use of which in the services and ministrations of the Church is *prescribed* by the [First] Prayer-Book of Edward VI."[61] That this

[59] The absurdities which would result from this principle are in some degree shown by Mr. Shaw ('Contemp. Rev.,' i. 20, iii. 317), but are much more effectively exposed by the unconscious *naïveté* of Mr. Perry in his summary of canons which he supposes to be still in force, and in his list of ornaments—'Lawful Church Ornaments,' pp. 467, *seqq.*

[60] 'Directorium,' p. 344.

[61] Moore's 'Report,' p. 156; comp. pp. 160-1; Dr. Lushington, ib. pp. 30-3. [So in the judgment in Martin *v.* Mackonochie, Dec. 1868, the Privy Council say, "As to [mediæval] constitutions, it is sufficient to say

is the only reasonable way of understanding our rubric we are thoroughly convinced; and even in the 'Directorium,' —although it had been "compiled in the belief that the 'authority of Parliament' in this rubric was intended to apply only to those ancient canons and provincial constitutions made statutable by the Acts" for a revision of the Ecclesiastical Laws—we are told that "subsequent investigation has induced the editor to modify that opinion thus far, viz., that the rubric refers not only to the canon law, but that it also includes the First Book" of Edward VI.[62] We take this avowal for what it is worth, only remarking that the Privy Council, in deciding for the Book of Edward's second year, entirely shut out the authority of the older canons as a guide to the ornaments which are to be retained.

Mr. Perry, too, in his essay on 'Lawful Ritual,' shows a consciousness that his old position is untenable (pp. 464-5); but he endeavours to rescue something by a distinction as to the words employed in the judgment of the Privy Council—that, as they had in one place spoken of ornaments "prescribed by" the Book of 1549, and in another place of things "used under" that book, "it ought not to be assumed that in their minds these were simply identical and interchangeable terms" (pp. 448-9, 450, 497). If the frivolousness of this objection required any exposure, it has received it from Mr. Shaw, who shows that in legal language the phrase "under a statute" is habitually used in the sense of "prescribed by."[63] And when Mr. Perry's distinction as to the words used by the Privy Council, and his old proposition as to the authority of the canons, were again brought forward in the Case of the English Church Union (pp. 50, 60, 79), the eight learned counsel to whom the case was referred gave no favourable reply, but significantly intimated their opinion to the

that, in their Lordships' opinion, they must be taken, if of force at the time of passing of any of the acts of uniformity, to have been repealed by those acts."]

[62] pp. xx.-xxi.

[63] 'Contemp. Rev.' iii. 314-6.

contrary. For, as they unanimously pronounced against the lawfulness of incense, and as censers or thuribles for incensing were among the articles which were prescribed by the canons and which the ritualists affirm to have been "used under" the First Book of Edward, the inference as to their opinion on the authority claimed for the canons is unmistakeable. We need not, therefore, any longer fight with the opposite view, or expose the monstrous sophistries and absurdities by which it has been maintained.[64]

Mr. Perry, indeed, attempts to repair his shattered defences; if the canons are not to be considered as of parliamentary authority, he would still use them as "subsidiary" to the rubric; for this, he argues, is not a complete system of directions as to all necessary or admissible ornaments.[65] We allow that it is not, and so do the Privy Council, by declaring themselves "not prepared to hold that the use of all articles not expressly mentioned in the rubric, although quite consistent with, and even subsidiary to, the service, is forbidden."[66] But then the admissibility of other articles is evidently to be determined, not by unnatural constructions which would foist on the service of the Reformed Church ornaments which were suitable only for the Church in its unreformed state, but according to the rules of right feeling and common sense. If, for instance, it were to be contended that a clergyman, provided that he wear the attire prescribed by the rubrics of 1549, ought not to wear any under-clothing, the contrary is to be shown from the reason of the thing—not by citing, with Mr. Perry, an Anglo-Saxon canon which enacts "Let no minister of the altar presume to go to celebrate the mass with naked legs."[67]

We have, then, already seen so much as seems to justify us in saying that the result of appealing to law will in

[64] See against it Mr. Shaw in the 'Contemp. Rev.,' Nov. 1866, pp. 333-7.
[65] 'The Church and the World,' p. 475.
[66] Moore, p. 187.
[67] 'Lawful Church Ornaments,' p. 470.

general be unfavourable to the ultra-ritualists; and that if in this or that point the Courts should decide in their favour, it will be on grounds very different from theirs.

Mr. Perry enumerates as "the five prominent (though not exclusive) points of the Charter of an English Churchman's Ritualistic Liberties"—

(1). "The ancient vestments of the bishops and other clergy;

(2). "The two lights on the altar;

(3). "The incense;

(4). "The mixed chalice; and

(5). "The eastward position, in front of the altar, of the priest and his assistants at the celebration of the Holy Communion."[68]

We may add from other sources, as further points on which the ritualists insist as important in the celebration—

(6). The use of wafer-bread;

(7). The presence of "the faithful" for what is styled "spiritual communion;"

(8). The elevation of the consecrated elements.

Let us, then, consider, the subjects in the order here given:—

(I.) The rubric and the Act of Uniformity of 1559, in prescribing the ornaments which had "authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.," appear to sanction the use of copes, vestments (*i.e.* chasubles), albes, and other articles which had been ordered by Edward's First Prayer-Book in 1549, but had been forbidden by his Second Book in 1552. It would seem, however, that the orders of 1559 for the revival of these vestures took little effect; and in 1565 certain

[68] 'The Church and the World,' p. 497.

"advertisements" were issued, which prescribed the use of a cope at the celebration of the Holy Communion in cathedral and collegiate churches, but a surplice for this, as for all other offices, in parish churches. It has been questioned whether these advertisements fulfilled the conditions under which they would, by Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, have had the force of law. But it is certain that for something like a century after their date they were generally supposed to have such force;[69] and, in our own time, Archdeacon Harrison has vindicated their authority in an elaborate argument,[70] which the opposite party have found it more convenient to ignore than to grapple with. The directions of the advertisements were re-enacted in the 24th and 58th canons of 1604; and this was the rule until the Great Rebellion, although on the one hand the use of the cope was much neglected in cathedrals, while on the other hand it is possible that one or two clergymen may, under the primacy of Laud, have attempted to introduce it into parish churches.[71]

At the restoration of Charles II., when the puritans objected to the rubric, as "*seeming* to bring back copes,

[69] See p. 87 above; and Chancellor Massingberd's speech, June 27, 1866 (Chron. Convoc. pp. 438-9).

[70] 'Historical Inquiry into the Rubric,' pp. 87-121. London, 1845.

[71] We are not aware that any evidence of such use in parish churches has been offered, except a passage in Heylyn's 'Life of Laud' (p. 471), cited in the 'Hierurgia Anglicana' (p. 164), as showing that four clergymen were charged by the puritans in 1640 with (among other things) "administering the sacrament in copes." But [as has been pointed out to the writer by Mr. Droop since the first publication of this article] one of the four was Cosin, whose offences were committed in churches and chapels of another class; and the 'Hierurgia' itself gives elsewhere the details of charges against two of the others (pp. 250, 387) in which there is nothing about copes. Indeed, if there were, a very slight acquaintance with the history of that time would be enough to show us that puritanical accusations in such matters are not to be received as certain evidence. For instance, an order was issued by Parliament, that "roods, roodlofts, and holy-water fonts" should be removed; and Heylyn, in reporting it, adds—"as if any such things had been of late erected or permitted in the Church of England; as indeed there were not." (Aërius Rediv. ed. 2, p. 455.)

&c.," both the wording of their objection and the terms of the reply made by the bishops appear to prove that the "seeming" was not contemplated as a reality,[72] except, possibly, as to the class of churches for which the cope had been ordered by the advertisements and the canons. But in the revision of the Prayer-Book which followed, the order of 1559 was re-enacted; and the question now is, whether our rubric is to be construed exclusively by the light of Edward's First Prayer-Book, or also by that of the advertisements and canons, with the usage of three hundred years. It has been pointed out by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his answer to the English Church Union, and more fully by Archdeacon Wordsworth and others, that, immediately after the re-enactment of the rubric, Archbishop Sheldon and Bishop Cosin—both of them concerned in the late revision, and Cosin a high ritualist of the Laudian school, whose authority our modern ultra-ritualists are never weary of citing for much more than it will really carry[73]—spoke in their

[72] See the remarks of the Bishop of St. David's on this, 'Charge,' pp. 80-2.

[73] We cannot here go fully into the abuse which is habitually made of Bishop Cosin's name. Let it be enough to say that his three series of 'Notes on the Prayer-Book' (Works, vol. v. ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.) were published for the first time long after his death; that they were mere jottings, made in the course of his reading—the later differing in tone from the earlier, and none of them giving any grounds for supposing that he would have wished them to come before the world as containing his settled opinions; that the notes of the earliest and most immature series (which, before the authorship of them was discovered, had been spoken of as the work of Bishop Overall's chaplain,—see above, p. 147) are those on which reliance is chiefly placed by the Tractarian and Ultra-Ritualist writers; that these contain mistakes of fact which go far to lessen their value; that even thus, Cosin does not maintain certain opinions for which he is quoted,—*e.g.*, that the ornaments prescribed by mediæval canons had authority of Parliament in 2 Edw. VI.; that as even the latest notes appear to have been written before the author's advancement to the episcopate, to speak of any part of them as the work of "Bishop" Cosin is delusive; that, although Cosin was prominent in the last revision of the Prayer-Book, he was certainly not omnipotent in it, inasmuch as there is evidence that many of his suggestions in the direction of Laudian ritual were negatived (see p. 25); and, consequently, that it is altogether unwarrantable to bring forward

articles of a surplice as the dress to be worn by their clergy, without any mention of copes, or vestments, or albes;[74] that the solemnity of Sheldon's language in particular is inconsistent with the idea that these articles were meant only to prescribe a minimum;[75] and that in the enforcement of conformity under Charles II. no one was ever troubled for neglecting to wear the more gorgeous articles of ecclesiastical dress.

Although the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council have pronounced for the ornaments of Edward's First Book in general, they have not precluded themselves from referring to other authority (such as the advertisements or the canons) for the explanation of this rubric, if the question of vestments should hereafter come before them.[76] The Committee of the Lower House of Convocation declare themselves to be, "on the whole, of opinion that the use of the vestments in parish churches cannot be regarded as binding upon the consciences of the clergy; and that the use of the surplice by the parochial clergy 'at all times of their ministration' is a sufficient compliance with the rule of the Church of England." Of the counsel whose opinions have been taken, while the four to whom the case of the bishops was referred are unanimous against the vestments,[77] the nine[78] on the other side are equally unanimous in thinking them legal.

his private opinions, or his personal acts, as if they were decisive for the interpretation of the Prayer-Book. We have long seen reason for believing that the influence of Cosin in the revision was controlled by that of Sparrow; and this has also occurred to Mr. Milton (pp. 43-5), whose pamphlet will be noticed below.

[74] See p. 86. [75] See Milton, 'The Sacrificial Vestments,' pp. 46-7.

[76] Speech of the Dean of Ely in Convocation, June 27, 1866.

[77] [For the 'Further Reasons' of Sir R. Palmer and his associates (which have been published since the first appearance of this article) see the Appendix to the First Report of the Ritual Commission.]

[78] This was the only point on which Sir Fitzroy Kelly had declared himself when his promotion to the judicial bench prevented his further consideration of the questions.

On the whole, we cannot very confidently anticipate what the result of an appeal to law on this question may be; but whatever may be decided as to cathedrals and collegiate churches, and even if the use of the vestments should be pronounced lawful for the parochial clergy, we do not believe that any court, or that any lawyer whose opinion is worth a straw, will agree with Mr. J. D. Chambers[79] in supposing that *all* the clergy, whether willing or unwilling, are bound to wear them.[80]

(II.) In favour of lights on the altar, it has been attempted to show that they had authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward, (1) by virtue of the Acts which confirmed the canon law until it should be revised; (2) by the Injunctions of Edward's first year (1547), which, under an Act (31 Hen. VIII. c. 8) soon after repealed, had the force of law. For these Injunctions, while forbidding the clergy to allow other lights in churches, make exception of "only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still."[81] But these circuitous lines of argument have both been cut off by the decision of the Privy Council as to the meaning of "authority of Parliament;"[82] and as

[79] 'Directorium,' p. 344.

[80] The Rev. W. Milton, in his pamphlet on 'The Sacrificial Vestments' (London, 1866), supposes that the words "authority of Parliament" refer to such things as were introduced for the first time by the act and Prayer-Book of Edward's second year; and that thus they relate to the cope, which, having before been used in processions, &c., was then for the first time prescribed for use at the altar. And he points out that the cope alone was revived by Laud. But unluckily for this theory, the author is not able to produce any evidence that the distinction between the parliamentary authority of the cope and the older authority of the "sacrificial vestments," was intended by the revisers either of 1559 or of 1662, or that it was apprehended by Laud as a reason for reviving the cope, and it alone.

[81] Cardwell, 'Doc. Ann.' i. 7. See as to the purpose of this injunction, p. 80.

[82] The Rev. James Skinner, however, tells us, with all the confidence of his party, that "there never was any doubt about the legality of the lights;

the lights are not mentioned in the Prayer-Book of Edward's second year, the question now is, whether they are to be reckoned among the things which were then allowed to continue.

In opposition to the lights it has been argued that the sanction of the Injunctions was given to them as being "before the sacrament"—*i.e.* (according to the language of the time) in front of the consecrated host, which was then reserved in a suspended pyx or other receptacle; and, consequently, that when the reservation was done away with, the attendant lights must have shared its fate. We have never seen this argument satisfactorily answered, but it is not necessary to insist on it.[83]

there *is* no doubt about it now." ('A Plea for our Threatened Ritual,' p. 46. London, 1866.) And it appears that Mr. J. D. Chambers has published a pamphlet in behalf of lights, which we have not thought it necessary to inquire after.

[83] The ritualists generally content themselves with putting it aside; how little they can make of it in the way of reasoning may be seen by referring to Mr. Perry in 'The Church and the World,' p. 499, and to the 'Case of the Church Union,' pp. 68-9. The meaning which was then attached to the phrase "before the sacrament" is quite certain. Thus Cardinal Pole enjoined "ut perpetuo lampas vel cereus *coram* sanctissimo hoc *sacramento* ardeat," and inquired "whether there do burn a lamp or a candle *before the sacrament*." (Cardwell, Doc. Ann. i. 147, 174.) In these places it is allowed that the reserved sacrament is meant; and in the very Injunction of 1547 the phrase "*before* the sacrament" has a parallel in the prohibition of setting lights "*afore* any image or picture." Even Mr. Perry feels the force of this usage so strongly that he tries to escape from it by pleading that Cranmer's Articles of 1548, in speaking of "two lights upon the high altar," do not add "before the sacrament." But we need hardly say that this does not get clear of the words in the Injunction. The only real difficulty is, that *one* light was all that habitually burnt "before the sacrament." But since the difficulties of explaining away these three words are so very much greater, perhaps this may be got over by supposing that although only one candle or lamp was burnt perpetually, two may have been displayed for a short time after the enclosure of the sacrament in its tabernacle or pyx, or may have been lighted at services other than the mass, in front of the reserved sacrament. [The meaning of the words "before the sacrament" is very curiously treated by some of the counsel for the defendant in the St. Alban's case. Thus, in the Court of Arches, the Judge asks Mr. Prideaux—"What do you mean by *before*? in point of

About six months after the time when the Prayer-Book of 1549 came into use, Hooper (whom Dr. Littledale styles "the notorious"[84]) wrote to a foreign correspondent that a number of Romish ceremonies were still used, and, among other things, that candles were burnt on the altars;[85] and this, as we have seen (p. 272), Mr. Perry regards as evidence that they had the authority of the new Book. It must, however, be clear to any reasonable person that Hooper's complaint was really directed, not against the Prayer-Book, but against the devices of the Perrys and Lees and Littledales of that day; the reactionary faction which, under the countenance of the "notorious" Bonner, endeavoured to keep up the Romish usages under the reformed Liturgy.

Shortly after this—we do not undertake to say exactly when, or under what *immediate* authority—came out certain 'Articles,' which are to be found in Burnet's 'History of the Reformation,' and in Cardwell's 'Documentary Annals.'[86] By these articles it is ordered that the clergy should "omit in the reading of the Injunctions all such as make mention of . . . candles upon the altar;" "that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, as [by] setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time;" and with this agree the Injunctions which, in 1550, were issued by Bishop Ridley for the diocese of London.[87] To an unpre-

time, or in point of place? *coram* or *ante?*" To which the answer is—"I should say it means rather *before the place;* but I say that the whole passage taken together means *during the whole of the ministration in receiving of the sacrament.*" (!) Rit. Comm. Rep. ii. 209. See also Dr. Deane's Argument before the Privy Council, p. 41.]

[84] 'North Side of the Altar,' p. 16.

[85] 'Orig. Letters,' ed. Parker Soc. p. 72.

[86] As to these articles, see above, p. 70. From whomsoever they may have come immediately, they claim to be based (at least) on royal authority, so that we may fairly use them as they are here used. The date was probably early in 1550. In behalf of these Articles, see the second of Mr. Shaw's excellent papers on 'Ritualism and the Ecclesiastical Law.' ('Contemp. Review,' Nov. 1866, pp. 326-9.)

[87] Cardwell, i. p. 81.

judiced person it must be clear that the Articles were not meant to introduce anything in addition to the Prayer-Book (much less anything inconsistent with it), but to show how it was to be obeyed, in consequence of the "divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same," which had "risen rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers, than of any other worthy cause."[88] In opposition to such persons (who had anticipated our modern ultra-ritualists in the principle that whatever had not been expressly forbidden was lawful), the Articles showed that in the intention of those by whom the Prayer-Book had been set forth, the silence of the rubric as to any ornament or ceremony was to be interpreted as a prohibition.

We may now pass on to the beginning of Elizabeth's reign (1559), when "contemporaneously, as it would seem, with the new Prayer-Book coming into use, the Queen issued fifty-three Injunctions, mostly the same as those published by King Edward" in 1547. "Now," continues Mr. Perry, from whom these words are borrowed, "the very circumstance that these Injunctions were issued, in itself proves that some more exact directions than the Book or the Statutes gave were then thought to be needed in order to determine with precision what might be consistently used."[89] But Mr. Perry has missed an inference which seems to us necessary—viz., that the need of some such supplement to the rubric had been impressed on the Queen's advisers by the remembrance of the wilful mistakes which had been made as to the first Prayer-Book; that the Injunctions, therefore, were now issued simultaneously with the new Book, instead of being left until the old mischief should have been repeated; and, consequently, that this circumstance reflects a character of genuineness

[88] Act 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. i. sect. 5.

[89] 'Lawful Church Ornaments,' pp. 138-9.

and authority on the 'Articles' of 1549 or 1550.[90] And this is confirmed when we look into Elizabeth's Injunctions; for there the paragraph which allowed lights on the altar has disappeared, exactly in accordance with the order given in those Articles. Now, then, it might be thought, everything is clear; the lights are gone, and the Articles of 1549 or 1550 seem to be virtually acknowledged by the Injunctions of Elizabeth. But Mr. Perry's inference is that "The entire omission of this Injunction [the Injunction of 1547 in favour of the two lights] from those given by Elizabeth is a most convincing proof that the 'two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament,' were meant 'to remain still.'"—(p. 140).

If any reader (outside the ultra-ritualistic circle) should have supposed that we have spoken too disrespectfully of Mr. Perry's reasoning powers, we venture to think that, after this specimen, he will do so no longer.

But to go on with the story: There was in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign a great agitation on the subject of lights, in consequence of her having set up a pair, together with a crucifix, in her own chapel. But, although the revival of the ornaments of Edward's second year had then been ordered by rubric and statute, it appears abundantly, from the history and the correspondence of the time, that the lights and the crucifix in the royal chapel were the only things of the kind in the whole realm; and that they did not claim authority from law, but were set up for the gratification of the Queen's personal tastes.[91]

[90] Mr. Perry, however, had not begun to question the genuineness of these when he wrote his book on 'Lawful Ornaments.'

[91] Bishop Phillpotts, in his Letter to Dr. Lushington (1856), quotes Bishop Jewel ('Zurich Letters,' i. 18) as evidence that Elizabeth would not do anything "without the sanction of law." But Jewel speaks only of unwillingness to violate the law on account of pressure from others; and all the correspondence of the time shows that no pretence of law was set up in behalf of her chapel ornaments. [Moreover, they were not burnt at the celebration of the eucharist only, but at all services. And this display of

After a time the candles were no longer lighted, but they were still retained; and, according to the example of the royal chapel, candlesticks and candles were introduced into cathedrals, college-chapels, and the private chapels of noblemen and others. Under Laud's influence these ornaments were much used, but the candles were not lighted in the day-time.[92] And at the revision of 1662, when the words of Elizabeth's statute were introduced into the rubric, it is certain that there was no intention of restoring lights, for otherwise they would have been a subject of episcopal inquiry.

In the case of St. Barnabas' Church, Dr. Lushington, as Judge of the Consistory Court of London, delivered an opinion against the legality of the lights;[93] but as the incumbent made an affidavit that the altar candles were never used there except for the purpose of giving necessary light, no decree was pronounced on the subject.[94] The question, therefore, was not carried by appeal before the Court of Arches or the Judicial Committee; and the judgment of this last tribunal affects them only in so far as it disallows the parliamentary authority which was claimed for them.[95] The four counsel to whom the case was referred in behalf of the bishops declare the lights to be illegal; of those who were consulted by the Church Union, six regard them as not unlawful—one of the six

the queen's lights in front of the crucifix may have been a continuation of that which has been suggested above as the possible usage under the injunction of 1547.]

[92] See p. 79; and Appendix II.

[93] Moore's 'Report,' pp. 63-70.

[94] Yet we are told in the 'Directorium' that "the judgment in the Knightsbridge case decided their strict legality;" and this just after the writer had said that "the two eucharistic lights must never be used, as mere candles, for lighting the sanctuary" (p. 43). And the falsehood of their having been sanctioned by the judgment is repeated on every possible occasion. Mr. Perry would rather have no candles at all than *lumina cæca* (p. 508); but Archdeacon Freeman sees in these a beautiful symbolism (p. 76). For ourselves, let us say that we object only to the attempt to force the lights on us by falsified history and unsound argument.

[95] Moore, pp. 70, 151.

goes so far as to say positively that they "are legal;" while Sir W. Bovill and Mr. Coleridge hold that they are "not now lawful." The Committee of Convocation think that "the instances which can be quoted of candles lighted during the celebration of the Holy Communion are few, and the evidence not beyond question;" that "the use is not without precedent in the Church of England since the Reformation, although it is a use which has not been generally adopted at any period since the Reformation." The Chairman, Dean Goodwin, in speaking on the presentation of the Report, seems to have been somewhat ashamed of this sentence. "My own feeling," he said, "is that there was no such use, and I am against the use of such lights."[96] But when we find that a learned doctor had proposed in the Committee a resolution that the lights had in their favour "the general principles of the Church Catholic; their retention as such by our own branch of it at the time of the Reformation; precedents of our own; possibly statute law, certainly canon-law; definite direction from time to time by lawful authority; and prescriptive use,"[97]—we apprehend the difficulties which the more reasonable members must have had to deal with in framing the report, which has been truly characterized by the Bishop of St. David's as "a mosaic of compromises cemented by a general disposition in favour of Ritualism" —(p. 122). For ourselves, we have no doubt how the question ought to be decided on historical grounds; nor have we any great misgivings as to the probable result of any legal decision.

(III.) Of incense it will not be necessary to say much, although Dr. Littledale has devoted a pamphlet to the subject. The examples of it since the Reformation give no countenance to the practice of "censing persons or things," which is said to be carried to a greater length in the

[96] Chron. Convoc., June 26, 1866, p. 401. [97] Ib. June 27, p. 462.

services of the ultra-ritualists than in those of the Roman Church. Such use of incense is declared by the Committee of Convocation to be "inadmissible;" and it is unanimously condemned by the twelve counsel whose opinions have been taken on these questions. "With regard to the simpler use of incense in a standing vessel for the twofold purpose of sweet fumigation and of serving as an expressive symbol, the Committee think it sufficient to remark, that it should not be introduced without the sanction of competent ecclesiastical authority." On the question of this kind of use, the legal advisers of the bishops were not asked to give their opinion, and, like them, Sir W. Bovill and Mr. Coleridge have confined their answer to the censing of persons and things. But the remaining six counsel have all declared themselves more or less strongly against all use of incense in any part of the Church-service.

(IV.) The mixture of water with the wine in the eucharistic cup is also the subject of a tract by Dr. Littledale. This practice was ordered by the First Book of Edward VI., but was not mentioned in the Second. In favour of it is alleged the authority of Bishop Andrewes and of Archbishop Laud[98] (although as to Laud the matter is not so clear[99] as Dr. Littledale supposes); and it is argued that the mixture must have been intended by the revisers of 1662, because Cosin writes:—"Our Church forbids it not, for aught I know, and they that think fit may use it, as some most eminent among us do at this day."[100] To any one, however, but an ultra-ritualist these words would seem to intimate that the writer himself did *not* practise the rite in question; and it is clear from the context[101] that this was the case with Cosin, even in his earlier and more ritualistic days, to which the note belongs. And we

[98] Littledale, p. 17.
[99] See above, p. 171.
[100] Littledale, p. 19.
[101] See above, p. 171.

have already pointed out the fallacy of supposing that any of Cosin's notes, whether earlier or later, or even that his suggestions for the alteration of the Prayer-Book, are to be received as evidence, in the sense which the ultra-ritualists pretend, of the intentions of our last revisers.

The mixture, as is well known, was insisted on as necessary by the section of nonjurors who were styled "Usagers;"[1] and we believe that, in consequence of a connection with the nonjurors, it has always been kept up by some clergymen of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. But its true significance, according to Dr. Littledale, was not understood until of late years, when the "new science" (as Bishop Thirlwall calls it, p. 78) of "Liturgiology" threw light on the matter. And therefore, because this rite is prescribed in some ancient liturgies, it is said to be a tradition of the Universal Church,[2] so that whoever omits it must bring himself under the censure of our Thirty-fourth Article, as one that "through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the

[1] It might be supposed that the ultra-ritualists, as they have very much in common with the party of Hicks, Collier, and Brett, would avow a sympathy with them, as the Tractarians did at an earlier time. But it is quite otherwise; see, for instance, Mr. Baring-Gould, in 'The Church and the World,' p. 107, and Dr. Littledale, on 'Incense,' p. 33, where Dodwell is styled "the most eccentric of even that crotchety brotherhood." We do not understand the meaning of this change of feeling; perhaps it arises from the fact that the ultra-ritualists aim at popular influence, which the nonjurors never dreamt of, and hence the party of the last century which now finds favour is that of Wesley. So little does Mr. Blenkinsopp know of the history of the nonjurors, that he supposes the "Anglican bishops" to have been concerned in a negotiation for union with the Greek Church, which was really carried on by that section of the nonjurors which acknowledged Jeremy Collier as "Primate of all Anglo-Britain." ('The Church and the World,' p. 192. See Lathbury's 'History of the Nonjurors,' pp. 309-360.)

[2] Both Sir William Palmer ('Origines Liturgicæ,' ed. 2, vol. ii. p. 75) and Archdeacon Freeman (p. 78) deny its obligation, and it appears that the mixture has never been used in the Armenian Church. If the water was anciently used in countries where wine was never drunk without mixture, the true analogy for us would rather be that the eucharistic wine should, like that which we usually drink, be *un*mixed.

traditions and ceremonies of the Church" (p. 16). In other words, whereas the object of that Article is to assert for the national Church the right of regulating such matters for itself, and of requiring individuals to submit to its regulations, Dr. Littledale would have us to believe that its condemnation applies to those who obey the laws and customs of the national Church in preference to setting up their private fancies under the name of obedience to the Church universal.

The absence of all order for the mixture in the Liturgies since 1552, after it had been specially ordered in the first reformed Prayer-Book, is all but conclusive against it. The bishops are advised by their counsel that "the ceremonial mixing of water with the wine, as a significant act in the course of the service, appears to us to be illegal." Of the counsel on the other side, Mr. Cutler thinks it "perfectly legal;" Mr. Prideaux, "not illegal." Dr. Deane professes "some doubt," but "strongly inclines to the opinion that such addition is not illegal." But Sir W. Bovill, Mr. W. M. James, Mr. Coleridge, Sir R. Phillimore, and Mr. Hannen (although the last two speak somewhat less decidedly) regarded it as unauthorised and illegal.

(V.) As to the position of the priest at the holy table, Dr. Littledale has a theory which, although so new that it was unknown to Mr. Perry in 1857,[3] appears to be now generally adopted by the party.[4] Even Archdeacon Free-

[3] 'Lawful Church Ornaments,' p. 365. On turning back to the 'Quarterly Review' of 1851, we find it stated that "some who did not venture on this flagrant irregularity [standing at the west side of the table], but were still desirous of giving the table the character of an altar, used slily to place themselves just at the north-west corner of the table, thus half complying with the rubric, which enjoined the north, and half indulging their Romanising propensity for the west." The writer had "seen this puerility actually practised, and persisted in by several, and particularly by two leading persons, who have since openly gone over to Rome" (lxxxix. 212). But the theory now before us had not then been propounded.

[4] See the 'Directorium,' p. 247.

man has in this respect allowed himself to fall, not only into the opinion, but into the tone of the ultra-ritualists, and peremptorily tells that "there is no real doubt whatever" about the matter.[5] According to these authorities, the term "north side" does not mean the northern end of the table, but the northern part of the west side. The theory has been well discussed in pamphlets by Mr. Droop, Mr. Elliott, and others;[6] nowhere, perhaps, better than in an article by the Rev. T. F. Simmons;[7] and these writers have not only conclusively disposed of it, but have very seriously damaged Dr. Littledale's pretensions to a character for learning and candour.

The fact is that, according to the letter of the rubrics and other documents from 1552, the holy table was, at communion time, to be placed with its shorter parts (or ends) east and west; and this was the custom in parish churches, although the "altar-wise" position, with the ends north and south, became usual in churches and chapels of a different class. In the reign of Charles I. there was a great controversy on the subject between Williams, then bishop of Lincoln, and Peter Heylyn (which is very inaccurately reported by Dr. Littledale). But neither of these antagonists had any conception of Dr. Littledale's interpretation as possible, or doubted that the priest's position was to be at the north of the table;[8] the only question was, whether as he stood there, with his face to the table—"shouldering the people," as Dr. Littledale elegantly ex-

[5] 'Rites and Ritual,' p. 71.

[6] 'The North Side of the Table,' by H. R. Droop, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. London, 1866. 'The North side of the Table,' by C. J. Elliott, M.A., Vicar of Winkfield, Berks. Windsor, 1866. 'The Priest at the Altar.' Oxford and London, 1866.

[7] See the 'Contemporary Review' for October, 1866.

[8] For instance, Heylyn says, "I presume no man of reason will deny but that the northern end or side (call it which you will) is *pars septentrionalis*, the northern part. Though I expect, ere long, in spite of dictionaries and the grammar, to hear the contrary from this trim epistoler." ('Coal from the Altar,' p. 24.)

presses it[9]—the longer or the shorter side of the oblong table should be turned towards him. Nor do Cosin, Juxon, or Wren, in the same age, show any suspicion of the meaning put by the new school on the term "north side,"[10] although Dr. Littledale and his friends would have us believe that it was generally so understood until the time of the nonjurors.[11] What the nonjurors really did, however, was not to introduce a new interpretation of the Church's rubric; but, in connection with a new office of their own, where the priest was directed to do certain things "turning to the altar" or "before the altar," they explained these phrases to mean "on the north side," *i.e.* at the north end.[12] The present position of our communion tables was established after the restoration of Charles II., not by any direct change in the rubric, but through the operation of the sense of comeliness, and in consequence of the dying away of prejudices which nothing but some new and offensive movement from the opposite side would be likely to resuscitate.

But although the priest, according to his new instructions, is to begin the office at the northern part of the west side, this is not enough for the Directorians, who prescribe all manner of strange shiftings from one part to another, and at the consecration bring him back to the position of 1549, "afore the midst of the altar." In this we believe them to be utterly unwarranted by the history of the matter. While the tables were turned east and west, there was no occasion for doubt or difficulty as to the place where the priest should stand at the consecration; but, as we have already seen,[13] Laud and Wren got into

[9] p. 23. We do not know whether this is borrowed from Pope's description of an obtrusive monument as "shouldering the altar." (Moral Essays, iii.)

[10] See Cosin, v. 308; [Juxon in Rit. Comm. Report, ii. 592; Wren, quoted below in Appendix VII.]

[11] Littledale p. 28; 'Directorium,' pp. 47, 247-8.

[12] Hall's 'Fragmenta Liturgica,' v. 10. Bath, 1848. See above, p. 203.

[13] pp. 202, 290.

trouble by consecrating at the west side of tables which were turned altarwise. In 1662 the rubric was brought into its present shape, which was intended to obviate the difficulty of reaching the elements from the north end after they had been placed on the middle part of the table. "The priest, standing before the table," is to "order" (*i.e.* arrange) them, by removing them to such a place that he may "with the more readiness and decency" reach them from his position at the north end; and in that position he is to break the bread "before the people," *i.e.* so that the act of breaking may be seen by the congregation. Of the glosses put on this rubric by Dr. Littledale and the Directorians—that "ordering the bread and wine" means "diminishing the quantity of bread offered in proportion to the number of intending communicants," and "pouring wine into the chalice from the flagon or stoup, which was not always done at the offertory,"[14]—that "breaking the bread before the people" means, "in presence thereof, not that the faithful actually see the fraction itself, but that the celebrant may be seen as he inclines in the act of the breaking, and as he elevates the paten, and shows the chalice, as he raises it above his head"[15]—we need only say that they are entirely worthy of their authors.

(VI.) In favour of wafer-bread a great deal of authority may be produced down to the end of Elizabeth's reign, after which the use of it appears to have died out. On the words of the rubric, "It shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be eaten with meats," we have the contemporaneous exposition of Archbishop Parker, that this means "where either there wanteth such fine[16] bread [as was described in the queen's injunctions], or superstition be feared in the wafer-bread, they may have the Communion in fine usual bread." But since wafer-bread has been disused for more than two centuries and

[14] Littledale, p. 26. [15] 'Directorium,' p. 74. [16] See p. 167.

a half, and since the revival of it, after so long disuse, would manifestly contradict the declared object of that rubric, viz. "to take away all occasion of dissension and superstition," it is probable that the early precedents would not carry any conclusive weight in a court of law. In the opinions lately given the preponderance is greatly against the use of wafer-bread. The Committee of Convocation think that, if not actually forbidden, it is certainly discouraged; and of the twelve lawyers who have been consulted, while some hesitate to condemn it (as Sir W. Bovill and Mr. Coleridge, who "have no decided opinion"), only four are in favour of its legality.

(VII.) By the First Book of Edward, while all but communicants were ordered to leave the choir at the celebration of the sacrament, the non-communicants were allowed to remain in other parts of the church; nor has their presence ever been expressly forbidden. But the whole stream of our formularies is against it;[17] nor can any encouragement be found in them for that notion of "spiritual communion"[18] which is now advanced, in glaring contradiction to the declaration of the Twenty-fifth Article, that "the sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed on, but that we should duly use them."[19] We could easily add passages from eminent divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the same effect, and evidence that the practice corresponded with their views.[20]

[17] See p. 195.

[18] As a specimen of the effects formerly produced by such teaching as that of the ultra-ritualists, we may mention that the Devonshire rebels, in 1549, demanded as the restoration of a privilege,—"We will have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people." (Cranmer, ed. Park. Soc. ii. p. 174.)

[19] Of course the ultra-ritualists have an evasion for this.

[20] See pp. 195–9. Mr. Perry produces from Strype a passage, which states that at Canterbury Cathedral, in 1564, "none were suffered to tarry within that chancel but the communicants;" and he infers, "Here we see that non-communicants were not excluded from the church—only from the chancel"

On this point the opinion of counsel has not been taken; but the Committee of Convocation declare against it as an ordinary practice; and the Bishop of St. David's, while admitting that it is legal and in some cases might "tend to edification, without the slightest tinge of superstition," forcibly exposes the errors and the mischiefs which are connected with the ultra-ritualistic abuse of the liberty allowed by law.[21]

(VIII.) The Elevation of the Host is discussed by Dr. Littledale in a pamphlet which displays his usual characteristics. We shall not attempt to follow him into the ancient and mediæval learning which he exhibits, although we may remark that, as in the Directorian system the elevation is performed with a view to adoration,[22] any evidence of elevation apart from adoration is irrelevant; and that, after having read all that Dr. Littledale says, without examining whether his quotations are more trust-

(p. 200). But, as "that chancel" is large enough to contain something like 1000 people, and is surrounded on all sides by a screen, which is solid up to much more than a man's height, exclusion from it must have been a complete exclusion from the service.

[21] pp. 102-3. A newspaper correspondent, in describing the Easter doings at St. Alban's Church, Holborn, speaks of "the idea that it was ever lawful to go away before the consecration," as "being in fact regarded as something quite *ridiculous*" ('Guardian,' April 4, 1866). The incumbent of the church wrote to protest against the word; but the correspondent probably understood the manner and the spirit of the party better than they themselves do. We may notice here the remarkable trick by which the authors of the 'Directorium' attempt to reconcile a reception of the holy eucharist by the priest alone with the rubric which requires that "there shall be no communion except four (or three at the least) communicate with him." "If," say the new expositors, "the celebrant sees three people in church, he may presume that they intend to communicate, and go on to celebrate. . . . Even if people withdrew after the prayer for the church, if the oblation has been made, as of course it will have been, the service must go on. Much more should absent sick persons, who will of course communicate spiritually, be counted in." p. 88.

[22] "Then rising, the celebrant should at once elevate IT with the first finger and thumb of both hands, for the worship of the faithful, while he is saying, 'Do this in remembrance of Me.'" ('Directorium,' p. 76.)

worthy than usual, we see no reason to doubt the common opinion that the elevation (in the modern sense) dates from the thirteenth century. But let us see how he deals with the history of our Church since the Reformation.

In the First Book of Edward the elevation was expressly forbidden. In the Second Book the prohibition was left out; but at the same time (1552) the elevation was condemned by the Twenty-ninth[23] Article, which declares that "the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance to be lifted up or worshipped." To ordinary readers these facts speak for themselves; but Dr. Littledale has a gloss, after the fashion of his party:—

"The enactment of 1549 was repealed in 1552 by the expunging of the prohibitory rubric. It is impossible to suppose that the revisers of 1552 can have failed to see the obvious result of the repeal of the rubric of 1549. Nor can any prohibitory force be held to reside in the article. It is simply a historical statement, which does not deal with ritual (!) and which does not even undertake the condemnation of those who adopt a different view of the facts of the case."—pp. 21-2.

This is pretty well as a specimen of the ultra-ritualistic style of dealing with formularies; and more of the same kind, adorned with Mr. Shipley's peculiar graces of manner, may be found in his 'Essay on the Liturgies of 1549 and 1662' (pp. 515, 524). But Dr. Littledale is able to produce a precedent for the elevation:—

"One very conspicuous instance of the post-Reformation use of the ceremony in England is found in the impeachment of Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, by the Lower House of Parliament—'That the said Matthew Wren, in the Tower church at Ipswich, and other places, did in his own person use superstitious and idolatrous actions and gestures in the administration of the Lord's Supper, consecrating the bread and wine standing at the west side of the altar, with his face to the east, and his back towards the people; *elevating the bread and wine*,

[23] Now Twenty-eighth.

so high as to be seen over his shoulders [compare the pre-Reformation rubrics quoted above];[24] bowing low either to or before them, when he, after the elevation and consecration, had set them down upon the table.' "—pp. 22-3.

This is taken from the 'Hierurgia Anglicana,' edited by Members of the Cambridge Camden Society.[25] But if Dr. Littledale or the compilers of that work had looked (as we might not unreasonably have expected)[26] into the bishop's answer to the Puritan accusation, they would have found that he indignantly denies the gestures which were imputed to him; that he refers by name to respectable witnesses for confirmation of his denial; and that he reprobates in the strongest terms the rite of elevation as practised in the Roman Communion.[27] After such a breakdown of the "one very conspicuous instance" (apparently the only instance, whether conspicuous or otherwise, that can be produced) we need not trouble ourselves further with Dr. Littledale's pamphlet on this subject, or hesitate to conclude, with the Committee of Convocation, that the elevation of the elements is inadmissible.

The extraordinary rites and ceremonies enacted by the members of the ultra-ritualistic party have of late been so often described, that we do not think it necessary to repeat the details with which every one must in some degree have been made familiar by the newspapers.[28] The Committee

[24] This parenthesis is Dr. Littledale's.

[25] p. 364. Dr. Littledale, in quoting it, adds 'O si sic hodie!'—which seems to be the expression of a regret that the Hierurgists have grown somewhat wiser with years.

[26] The Hierurgists elsewhere show themselves acquainted with Wren's answer (p. 135).

[27] Wren's 'Parentalia,' 103, *seqq.* The passage will be found in Appendix VII., and is remarkable on several accounts.

[28] See the Appendix to Dr. R. Vaughan's little volume on 'Ritualism' (London, 1866), for reports of two instances which may be regarded as typical—the celebration of Easter, 1866, at St. Alban's and other London churches, and the funeral of the Rev. Dr. Neale at East Grinstead in August

of Convocation consider most of their innovations to be free from any intentional tendency to Romanism; but the astonishment which the Bishop of St. David's[29] and Canon Blakesley[30] have expressed at this sentence will probably be shared by most readers. The imitation of Romanism in its externals is studious and servile. The object of the 'Directorium' is to show how the English Communion Office may be so used as most thoroughly to contradict those orders of the Reformation-time which directed "that no minister do counterfeit the popish mass." Prayers from the canon of the mass are published in order that the "celebrant" may (in Bishop Thirlwall's language) "adulterate" the service with them by using them privately at the altar (p. 95). Nay, so pronounced is the Roman character of the rites, that in some points, where the usage of modern Rome differs from that of mediæval England, the modern and foreign custom is followed in preference to the other. Strange interpolations and new offices are introduced into the service. Thus, on Good Friday last there was at St. Alban's Church, Holborn, a highly dramatic (or, as Dr. Littledale would say, "histrionic") performance, styled "the *Improperia*, or Reproaches," which included among other things this "antiphon:"—

"We venerate Thy cross, O Lord, and praise and glorify Thy holy resurrection; for behold through Its wood joy has come to the whole world."[31]

last, when the friends of the "fearless chief and warrior" (as he is styled) appear to have found much consolation for their loss in the opportunity which his death afforded them of carrying out their ideas of burial rites. We need hardly say that Dr. Vaughan, as a Dissenter, takes, in many respects, a different view from our own.

[29] Charge, p. 88, &c.

[30] Chron. Conv., June 26, 1866, pp. 413-4.

[31] The use of "anthems, hymns, or introits" in connexion with the Communion Service, was one of the points submitted by the Church Union for the opinion of counsel. Sir W. Bovill and Mr. Coleridge are altogether against it "in the manner suggested," while the other six consider it to be

On the same day there was a "Devotion of the three Hours' Agony"—an office (we are told) "which St. Alban's has had the honour to restore to the English Church."[32] On the preceding Sunday there had been a grand procession with palms, for the blessing of which there is an elaborate service in the 'Directorium,' although the editors (remembering how this rite was especially suppressed *before* the second year of Edward VI. on account of the superstitions which had been connected with it) consider that "it may be advisable under some circumstances not to bless the palms publicly in church, but privately in an oratory or in the sacristy" (p. 325). A number of festivals unknown to the English Church, and not included even among the "black-letter holidays," are prescribed for observation with peculiar ceremonies.[33] There is a studious affectation of Romish terms in speaking of all things connected with the Church; and this extends itself to the associations founded in connection with the party—some of them for objects so praiseworthy that we most heartily regret the peculiarities which compel us to regard them with more of suspicion than of sympathy. Thus, we have the "Sisters of the Holy Cross," "St. Lucy's Home of Charity," "The Sisterhood of St. Thomas the Martyr," "The Guild of St. Alban," "The English Order

"not lawful during the service, but lawful at the beginning and the end." The advocates of the practice allege in its favour some words of the act which sanctioned the Prayer-Book of 1549: "It shall be lawful for all men, as well in churches, chapels, oratories, or other places, to use openly any psalms or prayers taken out of the Bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the book." But Mr. Shaw well remarks, "It would not be needful to insert an exception in favour of 'psalms or prayers taken out of the Bible,' if additions generally were allowable, or were not within the prohibition of the Act." ('Contemp. Rev.' Nov. 1866, p. 324.) And even as to the Bible, a reasonable limitation of the allowance must be understood, for otherwise we might have for an anthem Mendelssohn's chorus, "O Baal, hear us!"

[32] "O. S." in the 'Guardian' newspaper, April 4, 1866.

[33] 'Directorium,' p. 124-7.

of St. Benedict," "The Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament," and "The Society of St. Joseph," which has for its object "the adoration of our Blessed Lord under the sacramental veils by works of mercy." Of these titles (which we take from the 'Kalendar of the English Church Union') it may be said in general, that not only are they not Anglican, but they savour of modern Romanism rather than of mediæval religion.[34]

As to the worship of saints, and especially of the Blessed Virgin, the ultra-ritualists do not appear to be fully agreed. Some of them think that in this respect the Church of Rome is in error.[35] But others have no scruple as to the matter. There are, for instance, in the 'Directorium,' (p. 182) directions for a grand display of tapers and incense at the *Magnificat;* and, as Dean Alford asked in Convocation, "Can there be any doubt of the meaning of *that?*"[36] Preachers of the party are reported to speak of the Virgin "emphatically" as "*our* Mother," and to describe the future state of bliss as "the court of our Lady, the queen of heaven."[37] And we shall hereafter have to notice the remarkable avowals, as to these matters, of a lady whose autobiography appears in Mr. Shipley's volume.

It is continually said that ultra-ritualism is not a mere matter of externals; that the performances of the ultra-ritualists are not mere fooleries and trifling; that their dresses and the like are not meant merely to gratify personal vanity in the wearers, or a vulgar taste in both wearers and spectators (however we might be tempted to think so by the gusto with which sympathizing reporters dilate on the beauty of the vestments, or by the chasubled photographs which figure in some shop-windows of London and

[34] The especial reverence for St. Joseph, for instance, is quite a recent development of reverence for the Blessed Virgin.

[35] *e.g.* Mr. Blenkinsopp, in 'The Church and the World,' p. 206-8.

[36] Debate in Lower House, Feb. 9.

[37] Letter read in Convocation by Archdeacon Wordsworth [now Bishop of Lincoln]. Chron. Convoc., June 27, 1866, p. 455.

Brighton); but that they are the outward symbols of eucharistic doctrine. And of this doctrine there are two great points – the Sacrifice, and the manner of the Saviour's Presence. As to the first of these, Mr. Medd (as we have seen) tells a prelate who was formerly Norrisian Professor of Divinity, that he, although "one of the few bishops who have any reputation for theological acquirement," has utterly misapprehended it; as to the second, Dr. Pusey (who might have been supposed likely to understand the Roman doctrine, if any one outside the Roman communion could do so) is told by a professor at a Jesuit college in Wales that he is completely mistaken in his notion of what that doctrine is.[38] We may therefore naturally wonder what chance ordinary people (not to speak of the colliers and "street Arabs" to whom the ultra-ritualists profess especially to address themselves) can have of understanding subtleties of doctrine which are thus said to elude the theological professors of Oxford and Cambridge; and for ourselves, we wish to speak with all possible diffidence.

It would seem that the ultra-ritualists do not hold the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Mr. Medd protests against it,[39] and the Bishop of St. David's expresses his belief that even the most advanced of them have not, "in fact, outstripped those very ample bounds which are authorised by the language of eminent divines of our Church, as to the doctrine of the Eucharistic presence" (p. 98).[40] Yet we

[38] 'Peace through the Truth,' by the Rev. T. Harper, S.J. Lond. 1866, p. xiii.

[39] 'The Church and the World,' p. 343.

[40] Our readers may be presumed to know something of the controversy which has arisen in consequence of the alteration made in a well-known verse of the 'Christian Year'—by desire, it is said, of the author on his death-bed. To us the most painful part of the affair is the defence which Dr. Pusey sets up in behalf of his deceased friend for not having made the alteration earlier, on the ground that the expression "present in the heart, not in the hands," might be interpreted, according to the parallel of "I will have mercy and not sacrifice," as meaning "that the objective presence was of no avail, unless our Lord was received within the cleansed abode of

find in the 'Directorium' language which seems to imply a belief as gross as that of the miracle of Bolsena.[41] And, while Transubstantiation itself is disavowed, the ultra-ritualists are zealous for practices which were brought into the Church in connection with it, such as the adoration of the consecrated wafer, and the celebration of the festival of Corpus Christi,[42] which in the Roman Church is expressly devoted to its honour.

With respect to the idea of a sacrifice in the Eucharist, we need not say that many of our most esteemed divines have held language which, although not incompatible with that of the Prayer-Book, gives a prominence to the doctrine which it has not there.[43] For, as the Bishop of St. David's observes:—

"In the Anglican office, the idea which is almost exclusively

the heart." "This," says Dr. Pusey, "is plainly not the obvious meaning of the words; but it satisfied him." ('Times,' Dec. 13, 1866.) Thus it would seem that, according to his most intimate friend, Mr. Keble was, for perhaps thirty years, in the habit of explaining his own words to himself in an unnatural sense, while he allowed them to go forth in hundreds of thousands of copies with the knowledge that to all readers they would carry that "obvious meaning," which he had originally taken from Hooker, and which is alone consistent with the general drift of the poem. It is sad indeed to read such a statement, on such authority, as to one who has long been revered, not only throughout the English Church, but far beyond its limits. [Sir John Coleridge, in his 'Life of Keble' (ed. 2, p. 169), maintains that the interpretation suggested by Dr. Pusey was from the first the true one; although Keble himself says, in a letter of 1845 (p. 291), that when he wrote the 'Christian Year,' he "did not understand the doctrine of the holy eucharist as held, *e.g.*, by Bishop Ken." See as to this, 'Quart. Rev.,' July, 1869, pp. 117-9.]

[41] For instance, as to the "celebrant," it is said—"He takes care that any particles of the Blessed Body and Blood which may have adhered to his fingers be reverently removed over the cup" (p. 104). And of the "server," "He should remember that the vessels have touched Christ; that the sacred vestments have been very near to Him," &c. (p. 259).

[42] The 'Directorium,' p. 125, says that this "is being restored very generally amongst us."

[43] We may observe that Mr. Medd seems to us quite mistaken in supposing the fervid language of Charles Wesley's hymns to imply any peculiar doctrine of eucharistic sacrifice. ('The Church and the World,' pp. 348-9.)

predominant, is that of Communion. There is, indeed, an offertory and an oblation of common things for sacred and charitable uses. There is mention of a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which appears to include the whole rite; and the communicants 'offer and present themselves, their souls and bodies, as a living sacrifice.' But of any other kind of sacrifice, and particularly of any sacrificial oblation of the consecrated elements, there is not a word. The consecration is immediately followed by the Communion, which is the great business of the whole. . . . That which the Council of Trent declares to be the true and proper sacrifice of the mass, is an offering as to which our Church is absolutely silent."—(pp. 94-5.)

Again, he speaks of

"The predominance assigned to that sacrificial aspect of the Lord's Supper, which it is so difficult even to detect in the English Service-Book, over that of the Sacrament, which there alone meets the eye."—(p. 102.)

And of the language used by some of the ultra-ritualists —that it is a "sacrifice of praise and propitiation, in which our Lord through His own presence communicates the virtue of His most precious death and passion to all His faithful, living and departed," the Bishop remarks:—

"I do not see how this language is to be reconciled with the doctrine of our Church, even as expounded by divines of that school which takes the highest view of the eucharistic sacrifice."—(p. 100.)

How, if the ultra-ritualists really believe the doctrines which they profess as to that sacrifice, and as to a localized presence of the Saviour on the altar,[44] they can go calmly through the wretched fiddlefaddle which the 'Directorium' prescribes, it is not for us to say. Nor shall we inquire how the observation of a set of petty and burden-

[44] "I have myself heard a clergyman preaching say that our Lord would presently descend on to the altar, to be sacrificed again for us." (Letter read by Archdeacon Wordsworth in Convocation, Chron. Convoc., June 27, 1866, p. 455.)

some rules, entirely opposed in their complexity to the mind of our Church as declared in the Prefaces to the Prayer-Book, may be expected to affect those who officiate according to the new system; more especially when they must feel that almost at every step they are evading the plain meaning of the Church's laws and acting in defiance of their ecclesiastical superiors. But as to the manner in which such performances tell on the minds of educated persons in general, we may quote the speeches of the Bishop of London and the Dean of Westminster in the course of the late Convocation debates:—

"I have heard," says the Bishop, "of a distinguished Divine of very calm mind being present at one of the churches where these practices were resorted to, with a view of satisfying himself as to what was going on, and being so shocked that he felt he could not, without a compromise of all that was dear to him, partake of the Lord's Supper at the hands of those who were officiating—so like was it to the Roman fashion." [45]

We cannot imagine how it should have been otherwise; and not only this, but the agitations excited by these gentlemen must, in all likelihood, even intrude into the mind elsewhere than in their own churches, and disturb it with thoughts of doubt and controversy at the very times when it is most desirable that all such things should be shut out. But the Dean of Westminster's instance is yet more remarkable:—

"Suppose a very influential member of the congregation—say the founder of the church, who has contributed munificently to the building, and appointed a clergyman to minister in it, under the impression—perhaps even the understanding—that these unusual practices would not occur, finds them against his will adopted, and his own views so thoroughly set at nought by the clergyman, that he, the founder himself, is unable to take part in the services of the church which he has built.—What is to be done?. . . . This is not an imaginary case." [46]

[45] Speech, Feb. 9, 1866. [46] Chron. Convoc., June 26, 1866, p. 432.

And we suppose that there can be little doubt as to the application of the words.[47] The ultra-ritualists, however, tell us that the poor and uneducated, who are hopelessly puzzled by "the wicked man" and "dearly beloved," are to be taught by their extravagant ceremonialism. If so, the colliers and the "street Arabs" must have an intelligence which has been denied to those of their superiors in rank and education who are unable to make anything of the details of services in foreign churches. But Dr. Littledale brings forward the example of St. Chrysostom, who is said to have drawn off the people of Constantinople from heresy by outdoing the Arians in the splendour of their ceremonial.[48] No doubt this is one way to fill a church; but so, as has been truly said, will any sort of eccentricity in the minister;[49] and surely it is a degrading thing to rest our cause on pompous displays in which we might easily be surpassed by paganism. We are told that ultra-ritualism is the way to overcome dissent: nay, according to Mr. Blenkinsopp, "the great Catholic revival is now drawing all the most earnest and most devout of the various Protestant bodies towards the Church and leaving only the political Dissenters behind."[50] But we believe that Mr. Bonner Hopkins was more correct when, "as one who had ministered in town populations," he expressed his belief "that nothing within his recollection had given so great a check to the spread of Church feeling and Church principles amongst the middle and tradesman class as this ritualistic movement."[51] So Canon Blakesley declares his opinion that, "if we look the country through,

[47] [All doubt has been cleared away by the published letters of the founder of St. Alban's, Mr. Hubbard, to Lord Shaftesbury and the then Bishop of London. ('Guardian,' June 26, 1867; July 22, 1868.)]

[48] 'The Church and the World,' p. 45.

[49] Speech of Canon Oxenden [now Bishop of Montreal], June 26, 1866. Chron. Convoc. p. 425.

[50] 'The Church and the World,' p. 213.

[51] Speech in Convocation, June 26, 1866. Chron. Conv. p. 421.

you will find that it has been more Puritanized by these practices than Romanized."[52] To the same purpose speaks the Bishop of St. David's (pp. 87–8, 117–8). And the congregationalist Dr. Vaughan tells us that "the success of the ritualists hitherto has been in corrupting the members of the Church of England, not in making converts from beyond her pale."[53] Indeed, even if the new movement should gain a strong hold on the shopkeeping class, we cannot bring ourselves to regard that event as an unmixed benefit to society; for what confidence could we have in the weights, the measures, or the assurances of tradesmen who should have been imbued with the casuistical principles of the school with which we have been dealing?

The ultra-ritualists are said to be indefatigable in pastoral work; and, little as we like their own boasts of this, we believe it on the testimony of the Bishop of London and other witnesses. But this is surely not peculiar to them; and if their zeal be at present conspicuous beyond that of others, the reason is to be sought in the novelty and freshness of their movement. The case of Mr. Gould's friends the Franciscans may serve as a parallel and a warning. We read with admiration (although it is mixed with a ludicrous sense of their eccentricities) the story of Francis and his early brethren, or Thomas of Eccleston's account of the Franciscan settlement in England; but we know that never was there a religious order which so soon lost its first love, or which became more thoroughly corrupted. The lessons of history teach us in this respect the distrust which everything else about the new party inspires by its very appearance.

Nor can we trust their professions that they have no intention of seceding to Rome; for we have been long ago accustomed to similar professions from persons who had given greater pledges to the English Church, than these

[52] Speech, Feb. 9, 1866.

[53] 'Ritualism,' p. 70.

men have it in their power to give, but who yet eventually left it. We are, indeed, continually told that since ultra-ritualism came up, secession to Rome has become much rarer than before,[54] and this may probably be admitted. But in truth the violence of the impulse to secession was over before the latest ritual development began. And for the ultra-ritualists to boast that they have kept persons within the English Church who but for them might have left it for Rome, is very much as if certain teachers of an opposite kind were to boast (as they probably might with truth) that they have kept in the Church, and even in its ministry, persons who in less enlightened days would have left it for Socinianism, or for avowed unbelief. We do not suspect the ultra-ritualists of intending at present to join the Roman communion; but it may hereafter prove (and no one can know by what the final impulse may be given) that by forming within the English Church a party devoted to Romish doctrines and practices, they have, however unintentionally and unconsciously, been preparing for a secession on such a scale as has never yet been seen.

Perhaps the most remarkable paper in Mr. Shipley's volume is the autobiography entitled 'The Last Thirty Years in the Church of England.' The authoress is evidently of a temperament which, in other circumstances, might have carried her into Montanism, into Quakerism in its earlier and more enthusiastic form, or into pantheistic mysticism. The tale is that of a soul struggling, not after salvation, but after sanctity. She describes her father as a "priest of the evangelical school," and, far as she has drifted away from the opinions of that school, she still shows unmistakeable traces of her early training. As she grew up, she fell under the influence of the 'Tracts for the Times;' and thus she came gradually to feel a desire for the practice of confession. Her first confession

[54] Littledale, in 'The Church and the World,' p. 30.

was made to a London clergyman, afterwards a convert to Rome, and now dead, whom she speaks of under the name of Goodwin:—

"My confession occupied nearly six hours on two successive days,[55] so long a time being necessary in consequence of the imperfect preparation which, in my ignorance, I had supposed to be sufficient.

"Years have passed since then—days and weeks of severe suffering, mental and bodily, but never anything that can be compared to those hours, and the weeks that followed them; and I know that I never can pass through anything worse on the earth-side of the grave. . . . I think Mr. Goodwin was more severe than he would have been if he had not mistaken ignorance and nervous terror for obstinacy and evasion; but, notwithstanding, I have never since met his equal as a confessor, or ceased to be grateful for all that he did for me. I, at all events, found out the mischief of my life then, undeveloped as my views were at that time of the sacrament of penance. I looked upon the priest as a commissioned minister; and I did not see that it was our Lord himself to whom I was confessing, and who was speaking to me; nor did I see, as I have seen since, that the confessor's words are not his own, but that he is under the control of One who regulates them in a way of which the priest himself is generally unconscious."—(pp. 225-6.)

Thus she had entered on a course which made human direction necessary to her; and her mind, taught to court temptations and to encourage morbid cravings, went on from one thing to another. She consults spiritual doctors in all quarters, and they correspond about her case, but without doing her much good (p. 229). Earthly love came in the way, and at last she married, whereupon she tells us—

"I was directed to pray for serious illness, if what I had done in this matter was not in accordance with the will of God, and I have never been well since; but I would not part with one day's suffering now."—(p. 233.)

[55] We suppose this to mean nearly six hours *in all*, but others have construed it as meaning that the confession lasted that time on each of the two days.

At one time she was near going over to Rome, but she did not go; and she has since found in the English Church spiritual delights which, if she *had* gone, and had then found them in Romanism, would have been mistakenly supposed to be a privilege peculiar to it (p. 242). She therefore looks down with pity on Dr. Newman, as having left our communion while he was yet half a Protestant, and knew nothing as to the true nature of the Catholic Church.[56] In all points of difference except one she gives Rome infinitely the advantage over us; but the Papal supremacy (which in former times was regarded by some as the main argument for conforming to Rome) she believes to have no foundation (p. 241). She despises "the conventionalities and dry counsels of such writers as Jeremy Taylor." "These men," she says, "could guide the moral and practical part of the spiritual life, but for the depths beyond we require a moral conformation and a theology different from theirs. Only Roman Catholic ascetic writers can give us what we need" (p. 226). She invokes the Blessed Virgin and the saints as "possessing our Blessed Lord's nature" (pp. 230, 238-9); but the centre of all her religion is the adoration of the Saviour's presence in the sacrament of the altar; and the great sin of the English Church is that this object of worship is not continually held forth among us, "as it is to our more fortunate Roman brethren, an abiding joy and resource continually" (pp. 236, 244, 248). Sometimes she speaks as if she had found a rest which could no longer be disturbed; but in other places she shows a suspicion that she may yet undergo further changes; and judging from the variety of phases which has already been seen in "the Catholic school,"—from the process by which it has passed from "dry dogma and first principles, moral duties and fixed devotion," to "spirituality and fervour,"—she expects yet higher developments to unfold themselves

[56] See above, p. 268.

hereafter. "Prayer increases, and the direct and remarkable answers it receives almost induce me to believe that, before very long, such answers will assume a more directly supernatural character" (p. 247). We do not think it necessary to comment on all this, and shall certainly not say anything unkind of the lady who has thus laid bare her history (or at least her own view of that history) with the hope (it is to be presumed) of inducing us to follow her example. But things must already have gone far with any who will not see in the results at which she has arrived a powerful reason to dissuade them from imitating the earlier steps of her course.

How alien the use of confession, as an ordinary means of spiritual training, is from the mind of the English Church, has been admirably shown in two pamphlets by Mr. Benjamin Shaw,[57] whom we have already so often quoted on other parts of our subject. How widely it is practised—with what deplorable indiscretion, and with what grievous consequences in many cases, the system is administered—has lately appeared in some degree from a newspaper correspondence, in which Dr. Pusey's part has been such as even an observation of his career for more than thirty years had not prepared us for. The entireness with which the system takes possession of a suitable subject is forcibly shown in the autobiography which we have been noticing; and that a system of religion thus becomes entirely dependent on human counsel is to our mind a sufficient argument against it. We have seen the awful language in which the autobiographer describes the authority of the confessor, and we would rather not repeat the words in order to place them side by side with her statement that one whose "equal she had never met as a confessor," mistook her case, and was "unintentionally severe" (pp. 225-6). Even this lady, with all her enthusiasm, finds it impossible to believe in the astounding

[57] Rivingtons, London, 1865-6.

pretensions to infallibility with which her party would invest the clergy. And everything that we see or hear or read of those who would set these pretensions at the highest, inclines us more and more to distrust their judgment in spiritual matters, unless it could be clearly proved that there *is* a promise of infallibility in such things, and that it is fulfilled in men on whose judgment we should decline to rely in any ordinary question—nay, in some of whom the commonest sense of the duty of truthfulness is palpably wanting. And while there are such objections as these to the system of confession as it is already used among ourselves, we know that in countries where it is established as the rule, the practical effect is, while it enslaves the women, to alienate the men from the Church, if not from all religion.

The ultra-ritualists are fond of warning us against repeating towards them the error which was committed by the authorities of our Church in the case of Wesley;[58] and others, as Dean Stanley,[59] repeat the warning, although they do greater justice to the bishops of that time. But the parallel fails in two points—that Wesley professed a warm affection for the Church which these men invariably vituperate; and that whereas Wesley and his brethren, in so far as they were thrust out of the Church, were thrust out by the personal acts of the bishops, the ultra-ritualists, if they are to suffer, will suffer by legal judgments. Their movement, as has been truly said, "is not a defensive movement, not a movement on the side of liberty, but an aggressive movement, which does alter the previously existing equilibrium between different parties in the Church."[60] It is the attempt of a small knot of men, unknown except for their extravagances, to revolutionize the system which has been settled among us for more than three hundred

[58] Baring-Gould, in 'The Church and the World,' p. 98; Medd, ib. p. 350.
[59] Chron. Convoc., June 26, 1866, p. 431.
[60] Speech of the Bishop of St. David's in Convocation, Feb. 9, 1866.

years—a time as long as that by which the Reformation was separated from the Council which established the doctrine of Transubstantiation and imposed the necessity of confession. Although as yet they ask only for a place among us, they show plainly that nothing less than a triumph over all other parties could satisfy them; and even already they denounce "liberty of conscience and the emancipation of the intellect" as an intolerable offence against the truth.[61] Dean Goodwin thought in the beginning of last session that the opinions of lawyers would have an effect on them; and the Committee of Convocation deprecated any resort to legal proceedings. The opinion of lawyers has since been taken; even from the eight or nine to whom a case was submitted by the ultra-ritualists themselves, the answers were, for the most part, discouraging; while on the one point as to which these learned gentlemen were agreed in favour of the ultra-ritualistic practice, an adverse opinion was unanimously given by the equally eminent lawyers who were consulted by the bishops. What may be the next step we cannot tell, but if the subject should be carried before legal tribunals, and if the judgments of these should be against the ultra-ritualists, they have already told us that they are not disposed to acquiesce; that they will admit no construction of the Church's laws but their own; that they are prepared to cause "a split in the Church of England," by setting up a system of "confraternities," exempt from episcopal superintendence, although well aware of the endless mischiefs which such an act would produce.[62]

It is, indeed, matter of great satisfaction that the temper of our people is now calm; that there has been nothing like a repetition of those violent disturbances which a quarter of a century ago were excited by so trifling a change as that of introducing into the pulpits

[61] Blenkinsopp, in 'The Church and the World,' pp. 189, 190.
[62] Baring-Gould, ib. pp. 107-8.

of parish churches the dress which was worn at all other ministrations in those churches, and which had always been used in the pulpits of cathedrals. We trust, therefore, that whatever may be done will be done by the way of reason and of Christian moderation. And while we deal with the danger from this new party, we must take good heed to another danger, of which many symptoms have been already manifested—the danger that the extravagances of the ultra-ritualists may be used as a pretext for altering in an opposite direction the formularies and the principles of the Church of England.

POSTSCRIPT.

The following paragraph appeared in the 'Times' of Monday, January 7th :—

"ST. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN.—Yesterday, at midday service at the District Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn, the censing persons and things and the elevation of the Elements were discontinued. The incumbent informed the congregation, by circulars distributed in the church, that he had been moved, 'after consultation with other parish priests,' to make such alterations in consideration of the legal opinion procured by the English Church Union, but 'especially of the wish of the Bishop and the opinion of Convocation.' However, before the Consecration-prayer the censer was brought in and incense burnt before the altar—'a mode of using incense allowed by ecclesiastical, and not disallowed by legal, opinion.'"

On the profession of having been "especially" moved by deference to the Bishop of London and to Convocation, we may remark—

1. That the Report of the Committee of Convocation was published as long ago as the month of June, 1866, and the Bishop of London's views had been expressed very much earlier, but without any effect, although the incumbent of St. Alban's affects to write as if he had

learnt them for the first time from his Diocesan's Charge in the beginning of December.[63] On the other hand, the opinions of counsel on the case of the Church Union were not completed until very lately—that of Sir W. Bovill and Mr. Coleridge being dated on the 17th of November last. We confess that, if we had been left to interpret these facts for ourselves, we should have supposed Mr. Mackonochie to have been influenced more "especially" by the legal opinions; perhaps we might even have suspected that, if these had turned out less unfavourably for the ultra-ritualists, the neglect which had so long been shown to the authority of the Bishop and of Convocation would probably have been still continued.

2. That of the practices censured by the Bishop and by the Committee of Convocation, two only are now in any degree given up. On one of these (the "censing") the opinions of the counsel on both sides have been unanimously against the ultra-ritualists, so as to leave no hope whatever of success in an appeal of law; while the other (the "elevation") is so manifestly opposed to the principles and laws of the English Church, that the Church Union did not venture to ask for a legal opinion on it. Moreover, in yielding on these two points, Mr. Mackonochie, with the usual tactics of his party, endeavours to retain the substance of the rites, while giving up the extreme form in which they have been hitherto used. Incense is still to be burnt at the consecration, although discontinued in certain other parts of the service, and although no longer swung at "persons and things." And as to the elevation, the congregation of St. Alban's are assured that they may still take comfort:—

"I must tell you," says Mr. Mackonochie, "for your own satisfaction, that the less obtrusive elevation indicated in the words of the Prayer-Book, 'Here the priest is to take the paten into

[63] 'Address to the Congregation of St. Alban's,' by the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie. Reprinted in the 'Guardian' of Jan. 9, 1867.

his hand,' and 'here he is to take the cup into his hand,' is quite sufficient for the ritual purpose—that, namely, of making the oblation of the holy sacrifice to God."

A specimen has already been given (p. 282) of the language used by the ultra-ritualists as to the Bishop of London, so long as they could flatter themselves that the law would not second his "wish" for an abatement of their ceremonial excesses. In like manner, the distinction between various uses of incense, which has now been adopted by way of compromise, was received by the party with the utmost contempt and ridicule when proposed by the Committee of Convocation;[64] nor do we now hear that the "simpler" use has that "sanction of competent ecclesiastical authority" which the committee regarded as necessary to warrant the introduction of it. And if our readers will take the trouble of referring to what we have said under the head of Incense (p. 307), they will be able to judge of Mr. Mackonochie's statement that his present practice is "not disallowed by legal opinion."

[64] See a letter of the Rev. E. Stuart, in the Preface to the third edition of the 'Directorium,' p. xlvii.

THE ULTRA-RITUALISTS.

['QUARTERLY REVIEW,' JAN., 1869.]

1. *First and Second Reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the Course and Conduct of Public Worship, &c.* London, 1867-8.
2. *The Church and the World in* 1867-8. Edited by the Rev. Orby Shipley, M.A. 2 vols. London, 1867-8.
3. *Tracts for the Day.* Edited by the Rev. O. Shipley. London, 1868.
4. *An Explanation of the XXXIX. Articles.* By A. P. Forbes, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin. Vol. II. Oxford, 1868.
5. *A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England.* By W. J. E. Bennett, M.A., Vicar of Froome-Selwood. Third Edition. London, 1868.
6. *A Prayer-Book for the Young.* Edited by Charles Walker. Second Edition. London (1868?).
7. *The Services of the Church, with Rubrical Directions according to the Use of the Illustrious Church of Sarum, &c.* Edited by the same. London (1868?).
8. *Principles at Stake: Essays on Church Questions of the Day.* Edited by G. H. Sumner, M.A., Rector of Old Alresford, Hants. London, 1868.

SINCE we last noticed the opinions and practices of the ultra-ritualistic party in the English Church, it has not ceased to attract a large share of public attention. Its ceremonial displays have been carried on with the smallest possible abatement in those details which friendly lawyers pronounced to be indefensible, or which the judgment of the Court of Arches condemned; while some new developments have either excited general merriment by their extravagant absurdity, or have provoked general indignation by the ostentatious parade of doctrines and rites hitherto supposed to be peculiar to the Church of Rome. The press has poured forth a flood of ultra-ritualistic literature, of which some specimens are named in the

heading of our article; and, objectionable as these works appear to us in many ways, the worst of them can give but little idea of the vulgarity and scurrility, the venomous malice and the unscrupulous falsehood, which have won for the newspapers of this party a pre-eminence in badness over the most disreputable of our older "religious" papers.

On the other hand there have been strenuous efforts to stem the threatening tide. There have been lectures and sermons, meetings and speeches, episcopal charges; books, pamphlets, articles in great numbers; trials at law, discussions in Convocation and in Parliament, and even an attempt to legislate, which was only turned aside by the issuing of a Royal Commission. Nay, such has been the excitement on the subject that candidates at the late election are said to have been frequently questioned about it during their canvass, and have found themselves obliged to clear themselves on the hustings from the imputation of ultra-ritualistic opinions.

When the Royal Commission was appointed in June, 1867, "to inquire into the Rubrics, Orders, and Directions for regulating the course and conduct of Public Worship, &c.," the selection of the Commissioners was considered by many persons to be too favourable to the ultra-ritualists. The Archbishop of York declined to serve—a resolution which was generally regretted; and, in explaining the causes of it to the House of Lords (June 21, 1867), he expressed some objections which were very commonly felt—among other things, that whereas a prominent member of the party, the Rev. T. W. Perry, had been placed on the Commission in consideration of his acquaintance with the subject in question, no person who was known to have made a special study of that subject, but to have come to a different view of it from Mr. Perry—such as Mr. Benjamin Shaw, or the late Dean Goode[1]—was there to balance him.

[1] The archbishop named only Mr. Shaw.

But if most people objected to the composition of the Commission as being too friendly to the ultra-ritualists, the members of that party themselves appear to have thought far otherwise; and Dr. Littledale, in the third volume of 'The Church and the World,' makes a furious onslaught on the selection of commissioners as well as on their proceedings. He contends that, according to the precedent of the Savoy Conference in the beginning of Charles II.'s reign, the ultra-ritualists ought to have been about one-half of the Commission (p. 4)—forgetting that they are probably not one in fifty of the clergy, or one in five hundred of the laity; and, yet more, that they come before us as (to use Dr. Littledale's own words) an "inculpated school"—entitled, indeed, to a fair and patient examination of their case, but certainly not to such a share in the Commission as would enable them to make its labours utterly abortive.

But let us see Dr. Littledale's analysis of the Commission; and, in quoting the passage, we shall supply some names, in order that the justice of his descriptions and objections may be appreciated.

"Its composition is as follows:—Five ultra-Puritans—Lords Portman and Ebury, Sir Joseph Napier, Mr. John Abel Smith, and the Rev. Henry Venn;[2] six Bishops [Archbishops Longley and Tait, the Primate of Ireland, and the Bishops of St. David's, Oxford, and Gloucester], all of whom have pronounced more or less emphatically against Ritualism; four lawyers [Lord Hatherley, Sir R. Phillimore, Sir Travers Twiss, and Sir J. D. Coleridge], of whom two have been active against the Ceremonial School, and but one has any knowledge of Canon law; three Broad-Church Deans [Westminster, Ely, and Lincoln], two of whom have also spoken out against ritualists; two Peers and two Privy Councillors [Lords Stanhope and Harrowby, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Cardwell], who are also Broad-Church, if anything; four titular high-and-dry members, two clerics [Rev. W. G. Humphry and Rev. R. Gregory], and two laymen [Mr. Beresford Hope and Mr. Hubbard], of whom three had declared against

[2] These five names are given by Dr. Littledale himself.

the ritualists before the Commission was issued; and finally, two gentlemen, a Peer [Lord Beauchamp], and a Curate [Mr. Perry], who may be taken as representing the inculpated school."[3]

Here it will be observed that no distinction is made between the present Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Oxford, between the Bishop of Gloucester and the Bishop of St. David's, between Dean Jeremie, Dean Goodwin, and Dean Stanley; that all English and Irish bishops are by implication declared to be unfit for the Commission, inasmuch as they have all "more or less emphatically pronounced against Ritualism;" that the reproach of ultra-Puritanism is thrown about in the wildest and most reckless way; that it is questioned whether Lord Stanhope and Lord Harrowby, Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Walpole, have any religion at all (for it is clear that the words "if anything" are not intended to convey the praise of impartiality); and that the chief benefactor to St. Augustine's College and to All Saints' Church is bracketed with the founder of St. Alban's, Holborn, under the name of "titular [whatever that may mean] high-and-dry members." So certain is it that any one who will not go all lengths with this party will incur as violent abuse from them as if he were among their most thorough opponents.

But if the ultra-ritualists had only a peer and a curate to represent them, the curate was in himself a host, so that they might even have spared the peer. Mr. Perry figures in the "Reports" as the most copious and the most persistent of questioners; he extracts from the "evangelical" witness, Mr. Daniel Wilson, such evidence as may furnish matter for the gibes of ultra-ritualistic writers; he is always ready to help his own friends when

[3] 'The Church and the World,' 1868, pp. 4-5. It may be observed that Dr. Payne Smith is not mentioned here; but he had been abused before, in common with Dean Jeremie, and with Regius Professors of Divinity in general, at pp. 2-3.

they are in danger of breaking-down, and to lead them gently when they lose their way. Let us take an example from the examination of the Rev. G. Nugee, Vicar of Wymering, in the diocese of Winchester:—

Rev. T. W. Perry.—2323. "You were asked how you could justify the term *wine* as applied to the mixture [of water with wine in the eucharistic cup], and you answered that in the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI. there was a direction to add water to the wine?—I am rather out of date in those things at present. The real *minutiæ* of Rubrics I am not *au fait* at. I cannot answer these questions."

Mr. Perry, however, by further questioning suggests a line of justification for the practice which is evidently new to the witness, and Mr. Nugee, glad to find himself taken by the hand, answers, "Yes"—"Yes"—"I believe it has generally been believed so"—"Yes, I do not know why it should not."

2330. "Do you know," asks the Commissioner, "whether that direction is omitted in the second Prayer-Book?—No."

2331. "Well, it *was* omitted."

And thus by telling the witness all he wishes him to say, Mr. Perry helps him to the usual fallacy of the party in behalf of elevating the consecrated elements. A little further on Mr. Nugee is asked whether he knows anything about the "interpretations" of Queen Elizabeth's injunctions; and he answers, "No." But Mr. Perry will not leave so promising a pupil in ignorance, and the next question and answer run thus—

2345. "They directed that the cope should be used in the parish churches. That was two years after the first Prayer-Book of Elizabeth was issued. Then it would be fair to assume, at all events, that the use of the cope in parish churches had gone on for those two years?—Yes; the fact is, I must plead ignorance of those little rubrical *minutiæ*. I have been away for a long time, and I am really at sea upon these matters, which were familiar to me; but I quite acquiesce in all that has been said, and I think it a very fair argument."

By the same Socratic process Mr. Perry contrives to bring out of Mr. Le Geyt a great deal of information which the witness had never possessed (Question, 434, seqq.). And in addition to these services he has further earned the gratitude of his party by solemnly tendering his advice to her Majesty, in opposition to that of the Commissioners in general, and at a length which is about equal to that of their Report and of all the other protests and qualified adhesions together.

Having seen what Dr. Littledale thinks of the Commissioners, we cannot be surprised that he is dissatisfied with their work. He accuses them of waste of time in one page, and of "absolutely indecent haste" in another (pp. 1, 5). He illustrates their proceedings by the following elegant and courteous simile:—

"If the Queen's cooks sent up her Majesty's dinner an hour before it was properly dressed in order to fling a cutlet to stop the howling of some troublesome cur in the back yard, they would not be held to have earned their wages."—(p. 6.)

He charges them with having neglected the task which was set them, and with having done something else instead of it (p. 6); with having "reported directly in the teeth of the evidence" (p. 7); with having given "flagrant examples of failure in conscientiousness" and in "moral honesty" (pp. 18, 46); with "discreditable evasions" (p. 11), and so forth. Happily the ferocity of such an attack, when directed against persons of even ordinarily decent character, must raise a strong prejudice in their favour; and any one who will read Dr. Littledale's paper with his eyes open may safely be left to find the refutation of the charges for himself.

The Commissioners have already sent forth two Reports; the first, conveying an opinion against "all variations in vesture from that which has long been the established usage of the Church;" the second, pronouncing against the views of the new school as to "Lighted Candles in

celebrating the Holy Communion, when they are not needed for the purpose of giving light, and the use of Incense in the public services of the Church." And to these Reports are appended the evidence of witnesses selected from various ecclesiastical parties; a verbatim report of the actions "Martin *v.* Mackonochie," and "Flamank *v.* Simpson," in the Court of Arches; a very large collection of episcopal and other articles and injunctions, which throw light on the history of our Church from the time of the Reformation downwards; and other valuable documents.

The hearing of the cases which we have mentioned occupied sixteen days in the Court of Arches, where, between the commencement and the trial of the suits, Dr. Lushington had been succeeded as Judge by Sir Robert Phillimore. The question of vestments was not brought before the Court: unfortunately, as we think, since it would have been better that the prosecutors should have shown a desire to ascertain the law on this point, even at the risk of its being decided in favour of the opposite party, than that the ultra-ritualists should be allowed, without a trial, to boast of having the law so clearly on their side that their opponents could not even venture to bring a charge against them. On the question of lights, the Dean of the Arches gave judgment for the Defendant. The question of excessive kneeling at certain parts of the service he declared to be one for the discretion of the ordinary. But as to the use of incense in any way, the mixture of the Eucharistic cup, and the elevation of the Sacrament, Mr. Mackonochie was condemned. Thus, out of five points, one was declared to belong to a jurisdiction which Mr. Mackonochie had declined, and three were decided against him; and the significance of the decision is increased by the fact that it was given by a Judge who, before his advancement to the bench, had been engaged to lead the defence in this very

suit. The questions of Lights and of Kneeling were then carried by appeal before the Judicial Committee of Privy Council, where the case was heard in November last; and on the 23rd of December the judgment of this highest court was delivered by Lord Cairns—deciding against Mr. Mackonochie on both points.

We shall not again discuss the points of ritual which have been treated in our former article; nor shall we revert to the doctrines of the Eucharistic sacrifice and presence, except in order to refer to the valuable papers by Dr. Payne Smith, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. Humphry, in the volume entitled 'Principles at Stake,' and to the vigorous pamphlets in which the theory of an identity between the English and the Roman doctrines, propounded by Mr. Gerard Cobb in a book entitled 'The Kiss of Peace,' has been exposed from the Roman side by Mr. Estcourt, and from the Anglican by Mr. Sedley Taylor. But we shall now go on to notice some other peculiarities of the ultra-ritualists, which have lately come into greater prominence than before.

Perhaps the most astonishing pretension of the party is that which would invest their fashion of service with a Divine sanction, as being modelled after the celestial worship which was beheld by St. John in vision, and is described in the book of his Revelation. And of this celestial worship they believe the Mosaic ritual to have been a reflection, derived from a pattern which was shown to the lawgiver of Israel "in the Mount." This startling assertion is put forward on all possible occasions. It has found an unexpected champion in the late Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, whose tract on the subject has been reprinted and industriously circulated in this country; the Royal Commissioners, as has been remarked,[4] had to listen to it no less than four times from Mr. Nugee; nay, even one of

[4] 'Principles at Stake,' p. 175.

the Commissioners, Lord Beauchamp, alleges the Apocalyptic theory among his reasons for declining to sign the second Report. And the Hon. Colin Lindsay, late President of the English Church Union,[5] laments, with a touching simplicity, that lawyers cannot be persuaded to carry back their view beyond the Reformation: for (he argues) the English Church refers to Holy Scriptures; and as Scripture "recognises three especial usages—(1) Lights, (2) Incense, and (3) Vestments,"—the case of the ultra-ritualists is clearly made out if the lawyers would only read their Bibles.[6] It is difficult to conceive that these wild assertions can be seriously intended; but, as they are so persistently repeated, we are glad that Canon Bernard (author of a late series of Bampton Lectures) has dealt with them in a contribution to the volume edited by Mr. Sumner. In this very able essay Mr. Bernard points out that the pattern shown to Moses in the Mount related not to the ritual of worship, but to the holy tent and its mystic furniture; that the types of the law were significant, not of Christian worship, but of the mystery of God's relations to man in Christ; that the Apocalyptic descriptions are evidently symbolical, and that, if it were otherwise, they would bind us to very much more than the things in behalf of which they are now alleged; that the teaching of the New Testament, and especially of the Epistles of the Hebrews, is decisive against the continuing obligation of the Mosaic system; and that it is not degradation but a superior freedom for the Christian Church that it should be left to find its own utterance, whereas the Jewish Church was placed under special commandments as to the manner of its worship. Our space will not allow us to extract any specimens of

[5] It has lately been announced that Mr. Lindsay has joined the Roman communion.

[6] 'Church and the World,' 1867, pp. 464-5; cf. pp. 434, 469, &c.

Mr. Bernard's essay; but the whole of it may be safely recommended to the attention of our readers.

We may next advert to the maintenance of seven sacraments, and especially to the inclusion of Penance and Unction of the Sick among the number. In order to get over the difficulty which the language of our Twenty-fifth Articles seems to oppose, especially in the case of Unction, by declaring that "those five commonly called sacraments [in addition to Baptism and the Lord's Supper] have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles," it is maintained that these words do not relate to the rites themselves, but to some ceremonies which had been connected with them, and which the writers of the new party are willing to give up as superstitious.[7] We need hardly say that a mere honest reading of the article is enough to show the fallacy of this. As the subject of Penance (*i.e.* confession and absolution) has lately been treated in this Review,[8] we need not now speak of it; but let us look at the argument in favour of Unction—"the lost Pleiad of the Anglican firmament," as it is poetically styled by the most eminent of its champions.[9] Sometimes the institution of this is referred to our Lord himself, inasmuch as it is said by St. Mark (vi. 13) that "the twelve anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them;" and it is assumed (of course without any pretence of evidence) that more special instruction on the subject was given in the course of the forty days between the Resurrection and the Ascension.[10] Bishop Forbes, however, is content to rely on the well-known passage of St. James (v. 14-15),

[7] 'Tracts for the Day,' pp. 152, 164.

[8] 'Quarterly Review,' Jan. 1868, Art. III.

[9] Bishop of Brechin 'On the Articles,' 463. We do not wish to speak of this book, except in so far as we are compelled to do so; but we may venture to say that it would be a grievous misfortune for the Church if the Bishop of Brechin were to supersede the Bishop of Ely as the accepted expositor of the Articles.

[10] 'Tracts,' pp. 345-6.

where anointing with oil and "the prayer of faith" are prescribed as means for procuring the miraculous cure of the sick and the forgiveness of their sins. On the strength of this text (which clearly relates to something quite different from the purpose of the supposed sacrament), it is quietly assumed that Unction was used from the apostolic age as a sacrament of the Church; and the fact that no trace of it is found for three centuries and a half after the date of St. James's Epistle is accounted for by that theory of "Disciplina Arcani" (*i.e.* that things were kept secret through fear of persecution or of profanation by the heathen), which has been made to do hard duty in so many unlikely ways for the Roman system.[11] The earliest mention of anointing, in supposed compliance with the text of St. James, is in the letter of Innocent I. to Decentius of Eugubium, A.D. 416;[12] and this letter plainly shows that the rite was not then common, inasmuch as Decentius—Bishop, not of any see remote from the centre of Western Christendom, but of a town which lies in the very heart of Italy—had asked whether he might use it.[13] But, says Bishop Forbes, "the meagreness of tradition is replaced in some measure by the agreement of the Greeks, the Armenians, the Nestorians, and all the Orientals, with the Latins, on this subject; so that we cannot doubt that a sacramental use of anointing the sick has been from the beginning" (p. 467). To which it is enough to reply that as no one of these communions became separated from the Latins until after the time of Pope Innocent, their usages have not the force of independent testimony as to the practice of the earlier centuries.

Unction of the sick was sanctioned by the First Book of Edward VI.; and according to a favourite principle of the ultra-ritualists, it is argued that therefore it is still

[11] 'Tracts,' pp. 347-8.

[12] Ib. p. 344 (where this date is described as belonging to the *fourth* century).

[13] Innoc. Ep. xxv. c. 8 (Migne, 'Patrol.' xx.).

lawful, although it has been omitted from all the later forms of the book, and although at the time of its first omission from our Offices it was also excluded from the number of sacraments by the Twenty-fifth Article. Accordingly, the volume of 'Services with Rubrical Directions according to the Use of Sarum' has prayers and directions for Unction, just as if it were equally sanctioned by the Church with Matrimony or Burial; and in the 'Prayer-Book for the Young,' a sick child is directed to ask for "the sacrament of holy Unction" (p. 476), although it would seem that in the Roman communion it is not given except to adults.[14] But although the First Book of Edward is cited for a warrant of this rite, the form which is found in that book does not satisfy our ultra-ritualists; and instead of it we are presented with an office "from the Use of Sarum."[15]

But how is the oil to be got? It must be consecrated, we are told; and it would seem that the consecration can be performed on one day only in the year, viz., on Maundy Thursday, when, in the Latin Church, "one of the most solemn, most magnificent, and most instructive ceremonies, the Benediction of the Holy Oils, takes place during the mass."[16] But besides this, there is among ourselves another difficulty in the way of those who wish to revive the rite of Unction; for "a Priest, desirous of doing his best to benefit the souls for whom he is responsible, at a moment when they need his aid the most, may present the oil to his bishop to be hallowed, but cannot compel him to exercise his powers."[17] It is, however, confidently predicted that "the time will come, we cannot doubt, when the bishop shall resume his proper functions in his own cathedral church, and solemnly consecrate the oil for this sacrament;"[18] and, in the meanwhile, the ingenuity

[14] Perrone, 'Prælectiones,' ed. Migne, ii. 436.
[15] 'Tracts,' p. 378.
[16] Ib. p. 352.
[17] Ib. p. 373.
[18] Ib. p. 167.

of our friends has provided us with more than one way of escape from our perplexities. There are, it is said, "two bishops, at least, in the Anglican communion who have consecrated the oil for this purpose;"[19] and although a bishop may not give the holy oil to the clergy of another diocese, he may give it in any quantity to his own clergy, who may impart of it to their friends in less fortunate dioceses; so that the dryness of Durham (for example) may be supplied from the rich overflowings of Dundee. More especially, we are told that we may look to the monastic houses of the present or of the future, as depôts where large stores may be laid up for the general benefit. And, if the worst should come to the worst, we have the comfort of knowing that bishops may be dispensed with altogether in the matter; for in the Greek Church the consecration is performed by seven priests, and the episcopal monopoly of the West is nothing better than an usurpation.[20]

Yet after all we are left in a distressing uncertainty by the variation of our instructors on an important point; for while one of Mr. Shipley's tract-writers considers that the Unction is to be reserved for the "last agony," another holds this to be "one of those 'corrupt followings of the apostles' which are rejected by us," and would conform to the Greek custom by administering the rite in ordinary sickness.[21]

Another practice which is in favour with the ultra-ritualists is the Invocation of saints and angels. Mr. Humble, Canon of St. Ninian's Cathedral, Perth, has contributed to the third series of 'The Church and the World' a paper on Invocation, which for its arguments, its

[19] 'Tracts,' pp. 167, 374. Bishop Forbes is probably one of these, since he says that, as "The Visitation of the Sick is a private office there is nothing to hinder the revival of the apostolic and scriptural custom of anointing the sick, whensoever any devout person may desire it" (p. 472).

[20] 'Tracts,' pp. 107-8, 351, 374. [21] Ib. pp. 169-170, 377.

admissions, and its conclusions, is very curious indeed. In order to overcome the sceptical tendencies of the age, he alleges some stories of miracles wrought in connexion with the relics of saints, and in answer to the invocation of their names (p. 142). By way of proving the glory of the Blessed Virgin in early times, he quotes writers of the *fifth* century, who had been driven into hyperbolical flights by indignation at the heresy of Nestorius (p. 145). He wishes us to "recognise the angels in their nine-fold order" (p. 128)—an order which is commonly supposed to have been made known for the first time by the forger who in the end of the fifth century styled himself Dionysius the Areopagite; and (unwilling as we are to take a liberty with Mr. Humble's name), we cannot help saying that this dictum forces on us the remembrance of a humility reprobated by St. Paul (Coloss. ii. 18). He would have us to "restore first to our private devotions the angelic salutation and the litanies of the saints," in order that we may "have the advocacy of these powerful intercessors for the restoration of the due and fitting public honours with which our forefathers sought to do them reverence, for a thousand years before the terrible losses of the sixteenth century" (p. 146). In short, the sum of the essay comes to this—that, inasmuch as the invocation of saints or angels is unsanctioned by Scripture, or by the Christianity of the first four centuries (p. 116); inasmuch as it is without any countenance from writers of our own Church (p. 124), and appears to be condemned by our XXIInd Article of Religion (although as to this article Mr. Humble has, of course, the usual evasion of his party —p. 125); inasmuch as it is exceedingly dangerous, as tending to superstition, and to something like idolatry, which the decrees of the Roman Church have been found deplorably insufficient to check (pp. 118, 127, 135-6);—therefore we ought to adopt this practice, for which Mr. Shipley is

kind enough to promise that we shall soon be supplied with a special manual of devotion.[22]

The manner in which these gentlemen argue is, indeed, very peculiar; and, as another instance of it, we may cite the Rev. T. T. Carter's essay on "Retreats." This writer tells us that Abraham and Moses, Samuel, Elijah, and other saints of the Old Testament, who bore a remarkable part in the history of Revelation, went through more or less of seclusion from the world; that "St. John Baptist's career was one prolonged retreat;" that "thirty years of our Blessed Lord's life was [*sic*] spent in seclusion, to be followed by only three years of active ministry;" that "even after so prolonged a state of separation from the world, the forty days' retreat in the wilderness must immediately precede his going forth into the world;" and that what Mr. Carter is pleased to describe as "the renewed revelation of the Gospel through St. Paul . . . was the fruit of a prolonged retreat—three years' seclusion in Arabia." On this we may observe that St. Paul's passing mention of a visit to Arabia is by no means universally interpreted as Mr. Carter supposes, and that the idea of a "three years' seclusion" in that country is inconsistent with any possible chronology of his life; that we know nothing of any "seclusion" in the case of Abraham; and that it is utterly contradictory to Scripture to apply that term to the early life of our Lord, who, although He spent His years in a humble station, and in a small provincial town, is described as having been in favour with man as well as with God, and appears to have habitually visited Jerusalem at the yearly festival of the Passover, under the ordinary conditions of the "company" (including "kinsfolk, acquaintance," and others), who made the journey together on such occasions. But further, all these Scriptural examples, so far as they apply at all to the

[22] Preface to the 'Church and the World,' for 1868.

subject of "retreats," are in favour of *solitary* retirement and meditation; whereas the purpose for which Mr. Carter cites them is to sanction a periodical *assemblage* of men, under the guidance of a "director," and under a code of rules modelled on the 'Spiritual Exercises' of the Founder of the Jesuits, "to which," says Mr. Carter, "all directors of retreats *must* look as the primary law of every scheme of instruction to be adopted" (p. 424). We shall not enter into any further examination of this essay; but it will be seen that, whatever the value of Mr. Carter's conclusions may be, the process by which he arrives at them is one which ordinary readers can hardly be expected to follow.

To return to matters of doctrine. — Among those as to which the ultra-ritualists differ from the generality of Anglican Churchmen is Purgatory; and here, too, the peculiarity of their style of argument is shown in various ways. They tell us, as we were told in the famous Tract XC., that the XXIInd Article does not intend to condemn all doctrine of Purgatory, but only "the *Romish* doctrine,"—the same which in the earlier form of the Articles was styled "the doctrine of Scholeaucthoures," "*Scholasticorum doctrina*;" nor can it possibly be directed against the present doctrine of the Roman Church, since that was not settled by the Council of Trent until after the date of our Articles. But neither Dr. Newman nor the Bishop of Brechin and one of the authors of 'Tracts for the Day,' who follow him as to this interpretation, have shown (as would seem to be necessary for their purpose) that the English Church, while condemning one doctrine of Purgatory, has countenanced any other doctrine in the same direction; they have not told us whether the "doctrine of School-authors" differed from that of the Council of Trent, so that a condemnation of the one should not apply equally well to the other;[23] and when the Bishop tells us that "it was

[23] On this point we may quote from Bishop Phillpotts' remarks on Tract XC. in the Appendix to his Charge of 1842:—"That the doctrine of

not the formulized doctrine," but a current and corrupt practice in the Latin or Western Church, which is here declared to be "fond," and "vainly invented" (p. 302), we fail to see how these words can be reconciled with the fact that the Article expressly speaks of "doctrine."

These writers tell us, further, that the early Christian fathers teach a purgatory; but an examination of Bishop Forbes's quotations will show how very little these make for his purpose. They grew out of St. Paul's words about the "fire trying every man's work" (1 Cor. iii.)—words which the context shews to relate properly to the work of Christian teachers. The early writers vary widely from each other, and acknowledge their interpretations to be merely the offspring of their own conjectures; so that, whatever may have been said on this subject from the latter part of the second century downwards, it seems certain that there was nothing like an established doctrine of Purgatory until the time of Gregory the Great; and even the doctrine of St. Gregory's time required to be

Trent must have been included under the phrase 'Romish doctrine' in 1571 and 1604, when the Articles were revised, and subscription to them synodically enjoined, cannot be denied; and thus would this evasive plea be sufficiently refuted. But it is not necessary to have recourse to such a refutation. The Article, as it was originally set forth, must be considered to include in its condemnation the doctrine of Trent; and this on the writer's own showing, for he says, 'What *is* opposed is *the doctrine of the day*.' Now the Article was set forth in the spring of 1563, and the Decree was made before the end of the same year. Unless, therefore, we suppose, without a shadow of evidence, either that the Decree of Trent was not the 'doctrine of the day,' or that the 'doctrine of the day' had changed between May and December, it must have been included in 'the Romish doctrine,' which the Article condemns" (p. 100). The Bishop then goes on to point out that "in one of the Council's earliest decrees, made fifteen years before —in the 30th Canon of Justification, the date of which is Jan. 13, 1547— the doctrine of a purgatory is incidentally but plainly maintained." We may add that in the formal decree of Dec. 4, 1563 itself, a reference is made to the Council's earlier declaration on the subject, and that the identity of the doctrine thenceforth to be taught with that which had before prevailed in the Church is strongly laid down.

afterwards elaborated, and to be fixed in the popular mind by stories of visions and revelations. Bishop Forbes winds up his discussion of the subject by quoting from "the treatise of St. Catharine of Genoa, edited by Archbishop Manning," a passage which excludes the old idea of a purgatorial fire, and describes the delights of the purgatorial state as far exceeding its sufferings. "Had this," says the Bishop, "been even *an* aspect of purgatory, presented to the framers of our Article as a possible authoritative exposition of the doctrine, who would say that the 'Romish doctrine of Purgatory' could ever have been censured in it? Anyhow, *this* doctrine was not censured in that censure, since it was not taught" (pp. 350-5). These last words seem inconsistent with the fact that St. Catharine, according to Alban Butler, died in 1510—more than fifty years before the condemnation of the "Romish doctrine" in our Articles. But not to dwell on this point, we may notice that here again we are distracted between our neo-Catholic teachers; for while Bishop Forbes seems to accept the doctrine of the female saint, and even to think its novelty a circumstance in its favour, the writer of the 'Tract for the Day' cites it only in order to ridicule it (pp. 25, 26).

From Purgatory the transition is easy to the celebration of Masses for the Dead. To what extent this is practised by the ultra-ritualists we have no means of knowing; perhaps most people were not aware that it was practised at all until they read in the newspapers that a "choral celebration of the Blessed Sacrament" had been announced to take place at a church in the town of Cambridge "for the repose of the soul" of the late Archbishop of Canterbury. The announcement was sent forth by a gentleman who describes himself as holding the important office of "sub-secretary [of the English Church Union] for Queen's and Catharine Colleges," and the correspondence

to which this affair gave rise[24] displays in a very remarkable manner some of the characteristics of the party. The Bishop of Ely, in expressing his strong disapproval of the practices in question, suggests that "there may be a legal difficulty in dealing with" the matter in consequence of Sir Herbert Jenner's decision that prayers for the dead have not been forbidden by the Church of England; but although the Bishop of Brechin lays down that "the application of the Blessed Eucharist to the departed must, in our Church, stand and fall with the practice of prayers for the dead" (p. 611), it remains to be seen whether a court of law will take the same view of the connexion. Certain it is that, for three hundred years, the XXXIST Article has been regarded as a prohibition of all masses for the departed — an opinion which the lamented Archbishop Longley himself strongly expressed in Convocation,[25] and would probably have repeated if he had been permitted to complete the Charge which he left unfinished at his death; and we should be greatly surprised to find that, on a legal trial, the judgment in "Breeks *v.* Woolfrey," would avail to protect the practice now in question.

One of the books before us—the Prayer-Book with Sarum Rubrics—not content with a single mass, speaks of "other mortuary celebrations, viz., Month's-minds or trentals, Year's-minds or anniversaries." The object of this volume is to enable the clergy "to use the Prayer-Book as a Catholic priest educated in the olden rite undoubtedly used the first reformed Liturgy: *i.e.* by the light of his previous habits and the yet unrepealed requirements of the Church" (p. xvi.); in other words to give directions for carrying on, under our present Prayer-

[24] See the 'Guardian,' Dec. 9, 1868.

[25] 'Journal of Convocation,' Feb. 19, 1868, p. 1138. Against the interpretation of Article XXXI. proposed in Tract XC., and followed by the ultra-ritualistic school, see the Bishop of St. David's 'Charge,' 1866, Appendix C.

Book, some such service as that which Bishop Bonner and the reactionary party attempted to carry on under the book of 1549, in contradiction to the real meaning and spirit of that book;[26] to take us back to that condition of things which our Reformers, in the preface to the Prayer-Book, describe in words of St. Augustine,—that "the estate of Christian people was in worse case concerning that matter [of excess and multitude of ceremonies] than were the Jews." There are, of course, all those rites which have lately been the subjects of question—elevation, adoration, lights, incense, genuflections and extraordinary bowings; with strange interpolations of directions and additions intended for the "adulteration"[27] of the public offices, and even of rites altogether foreign to the Prayer-Book, such as the administration of unction to the sick. There are translations of the Sarum hymns by Mr. J. D. Chambers, whose English Sapphics do not run by any means so smoothly as Canning's famous specimen of the same metre. There are offices for the "black letter" days, and for festivals which have been specially excluded from our calendar, such as Corpus Christi, the Assumption, All Souls' Day, and the Martyrdom and Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (p. 515). There are the blessings of candles on Candlemas Day, of ashes on Ash Wednesday, and of palms on Palm Sunday. There are tapers on all possible occasions, chrism, baptismal robes, &c.; and there is the substance of those strange and unedifying "cautels" with which the readers of the 'Directorium Anglicanum' are already familiar.

Still more offensive, perhaps, than this preposterous book is the 'Prayer-Book for the Young,' by the same editor. Here there is, throughout a great part of the communion-office, a double accompaniment of private prayers—one set "for hearers" and another "for communicants;" and from the circumstance that this accompa-

[26] See p. 302. [27] See the Bishop of St. David's 'Charge,' p. 95.

niment is not printed opposite the prayer "for the whole state of Christ's Church," but that there is a direction to "join in" that prayer (p. 115), it would seem that the devotions opposite to certain others of the Church's prayers are intended to supersede them by the authority of Mr. Walker. Here, too, there are plenty of strange gestures and the like, which it is to be presumed that "the young" will take as belonging to the authorised service of the English Church. There is a supply of "meditations" which seem to be very wretched stuff indeed;[28] and there are Litanies of a very extraordinary character. Thus we have the "Litany of the Blessed Sacrament," and the "Litany of Reparation in honour of the Blessed Sacrament." There is the "Litany of the Sacred Heart of Jesus"—a devotion for which there can be no mediæval precedent, inasmuch as it was invented (or, at least, chiefly promoted) by the Jesuits, and has been denounced by other parties in the Roman communion as sensuous, superstitious, or even idolatrous.[29] There is the "Litany of the Holy Childhood of Jesus"—addressed to the Saviour as if the period of His earthly childhood still continued, and were a special ground for addressing Him; and on the same principle the book is dedicated to Him as "The Babe of Bethlehem and Boy of Nazareth." And there is "the Litany of the Incarnation," which is really intended for the glory of the

[28] As a specimen of the taste of these compositions, we may quote the petition, "Blood of Christ inebriate me" (p. 252).

[29] It was not until 1765 that papal sanction was obtained for it, after several refusals. "Theologians contended whether the veneration was paid to the actual bloody heart, or only to the symbol of the Divine love" (Hase, Kirchengesch. 552, ed. 7). This seems, however, to be a very favourite devotion with our ultra-ritualists, who apparently combine both the objects. Wednesday in every week is to be specially devoted to it (p. 355), and at p. 360 we have a "consecration" beginning "To Thee, O Sacred Heart of Jesus, do I devote and offer up my life, my thoughts, my words, actions and sufferings, my whole being no longer employed but in loving, serving, and glorifying thee."

Saviour's mother, and contains such petitions as the following :—

"Jesu, who being the God of all wisdom, didst vouchsafe to learn at the feet of Mary;

"Jesu, who didst stand by when St. Joseph, having been a faithful ruler of Thy House, breathed his last, and entered into the joy of his Lord;

"Jesu, who, from Thy bitter Cross, didst commend Thy Mother to the beloved Apostle St. John, saying to him, and in him to all true Christians, 'Behold thy mother!'

"Jesu, who, from Thy Cross, didst commend Thy beloved Apostle, and in him all true Christians, to the care of Thy Mother, saying, 'Woman, behold thy son!'"

Have mercy upon us.

—pp. 381-2.

It is very painful to transcribe this sort of matter, but without such specimens the greater part of our readers would probably have no idea of the degree to which the party is penetrated by Romish notions. Even in little affectations of language we everywhere find traces of Latin usage.

We have already given some examples of the strange manner in which the ultra-ritualists are accustomed to argue; but we must refer to another remarkable specimen of this kind, the examination of the Rev. J. F. Russell, who avows himself as editor of the 'Hierurgia Anglicana,' before the Ritual Commission. Mr. Russell, indeed, professes to be as "one whose own practice stops far short of the advanced ritual development of these days;"[30] but he is claimed by Dr. Littledale for the new party,[31] and came forward in their interest as a "theological expert" (Qu. 187) for the purpose of showing the lawfulness of lighted candles at the celebration of the Holy Communion. Accordingly, he produces many instances in which

[30] Second Report, p. 23. [31] 'Church and the World,' 1868, p. 53.

lights are said to have been used in the royal chapel and elsewhere, from the time of Elizabeth downwards; and he seems to have thought that these instances would prove his point to the Commissioners as satisfactorily as they had proved it to his own mind. But unluckily for Mr. Russell some of the Commissioners were unable to see the connection between his facts and the conclusion which he wished to draw. The (then) Bishop of London acutely extracted from him the confession that in several cases his evidence had no bearing on the subject in question; and the witness was next taken in hand by the Dean of Ely, whose examination of him, extending to nearly sixty questions (96-151) is as successful an example of the demolition of sham defences as anything that we can remember. One after another, the instances are shown to have no connection with the celebration of the sacrament, and in one case after another Mr. Russell is driven, step by step and reluctantly, to admit their utter irrelevancy. By-and-by a friendly Commissioner, Mr. Beresford Hope, steps in, with the intention of rescuing Mr. Russell from the effect of some of his admissions; and towards the end of the day the indefatigable Mr. Perry attempts, after his usual fashion, to set the witness on his legs again. But the unfortunate "expert" receives further serious damage from Mr. Venn and others; and at last he is subjected to the judicial torture of the Bishop of St. David's, who had unfortunately been absent from London during the first season of the Commission, so that his questions to Mr. Russell (who was the only witness examined in the second season) are the only specimens which we have of his exquisite and peculiar skill in this line. Nor was even this all; for Mr. Russell's evidence, as it appears in the Report, with a long supplementary letter which the Commissioners allowed him to add, is also accompanied by a commentary in which Sir Joseph Napier convicts him of gross unfairness in his use of

documents; and we should not be surprised to find there are yet further exposures of the same kind in store for him.[32]

As Mr. Russell was made to represent the information of the whole party on the subject of altar-lights, so it seems to be the usual practice of the ultra-ritualists, instead of troubling themselves with the labour of getting up their case for themselves, and of carrying it in their own heads, to rely on somebody who is to keep the key of knowledge for them all. Dr. Littledale appears to be regarded as the great authority in this way. Thus Mr. Nugee, in his evidence before the Commission, refers to him as "a man of great learning," and in answer to a question which the Dean of Lincoln ventured to ask, whether he "thought" certain "assertions of Dr. Littledale perfectly tenable," declared, "I believe all that he states is capable of positive evidence" (Qu. 2242). Mr. Carter goes to the Infallible Doctor for historical information,[33] and he appears to have been at the elbow of Mr. Mackonochie's counsel in the Court of Arches, for the purpose of prompting them.[34] In like manner, Mr. Humble gets his learning from Bishop Forbes's unpublished proof-sheets,[35] and Mr. Colin Lindsay appears to let himself be led blindfold by Mr. Perry. When left to themselves, some of the conspicuous members of the party make but a sorry figure. Thus, Mr. White, of St. Barnabas', Pimlico, while speaking very grandly about "the custom of the Western Church," as to the colours of altar-cloths, has no better answer to the question where the authority for this custom is to be found, than, "I suppose there are many old authorities to which they might be referred"

[32] See Appendix II.

[33] 'The Church and the World,' 1868, p. 423. Other references are given by Mr. Shaw, 'Principles at Stake,' p. 5.

[34] Second Report, p. 203. Our own opinion of Dr. Littledale's pretensions has been expressed in our former article.

[35] 'Church and the World,' 1868, p. 105.

(Qu. 724-8.) In another part of his evidence (Qu. 847), Mr. White confesses himself to be "not an antiquarian," while assuring the Commissioners that his practices are supported by the result of antiquarian investigations. So Mr. Le Geyt says, "I do not profess to be sufficiently skilled in these details to answer accurately." (See Qu. 301-8.) "I really have never been able to go so thoroughly into these matters. Other men have gone into them very minutely. I have not followed all the arguments" (Qu. 983). On being asked "Can you get any evidence of post-Reformation use?" he replies, "I think I could if I were allowed time. I know men who can. I believe there is no doubt about it" (Qu. 1060); and so on. Mr. Nugee ingenuously confesses that "he is not quite *au fait* at the real *minutiæ* of rubrics" (Qu. 2323). The same gentleman, in speaking of the wall-paintings lately discovered by our respected friend Dr. Mullooly in the subterranean church of St. Clement at Rome, refers them to the third century;[36] and the mistake of 800 years is so amusing to the Dean of Westminster that he maliciously asks for a repetition of it (Qu. 2261, 2373). And if it were worth while it would be easy to point out many ridiculous blunders in the writings of the party.

How, it may be asked, is it that, according to the assertions of these gentlemen, our forefathers and we for more than three centuries have been altogether in the dark as to the true character of the English Church? How is it that the idea of an antagonism between England and Rome, that the idea even of any considerable difference in doctrines and in rites, is now declared to be utterly mistaken?

In the first place, the ultra-ritualists assume that there is no real difference, and think themselves entitled to

[36] They really belong to the latter part of the eleventh century. See 'Quarterly Review,' cxv. pp. 231, 580, and Reumont, 'Geschichte der Stadt Rom,' ii. 414.

shut their eyes against all evidence of the contrary with regard to the interpretation of our Formularies. In citing, as they often do, the xxxth Canon of 1604 for the declaration that it was "far from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, &c., in all things which they held and practised," they suppress the reservations by which the declaration is accompanied, and especially the fact that the canon expressly refers to Jewel's 'Apology' by way of an authoritative interpretation. Mr. Cobb is not ashamed to tell us that a "Catholic does not care to know what the Formularies were *meant* to mean, he knows nothing of the so-called *animus imponentis*."[37] In other words, these gentlemen hold themselves emancipated from those considerations which the rest of mankind suppose to be essential to an honourable and true understanding of their engagements; and thus the Bishop of Brechin constructs his "Explanation of the Articles" on the assumption that these, instead of being embraced "willingly and *ex animo*," are to be regarded as a hostile document, the meaning of which is to be reduced to as little as possible, consistently with satisfying its mere letter in any way. Yet that this principle is felt to be really an unsatisfactory one, is evident from the Bishop's use of the argument from the intentions of the framers whenever these can be supposed to make for his cause: as in his citations from Archbishop Parker and Bishop Guest (pp. 552-3, 588). As for historical evidence which might throw light on the meaning of the Prayer-Book, the new school will hear nothing of it. Mr. Lindsay declares that "the whole history of the Church of England during the last three centuries is one (so far as our subject is concerned) of rebellion against her laws and ancient usages."[38] In dealing with things which, having been in the first reformed

[37] 'Sequel to the Kiss of Peace,' p. 126.

[38] 'Church and the World,' 1867, p. 434.

Prayer-Book, were afterwards left out, they boldly deny that the omission is to be construed as a prohibition. Mr. Bennett, however, on being questioned as to this, replied, "That depends" (Qu. 2956). That is to say, the principle which they would usually deny, as being adverse to their pretences, is to be admitted in any case (if such there should be) where it may tell in their favour. For instance, it is argued that, whereas Unction was permitted by the first book, but does not appear in the second, the omission was not a prohibition, even although it was accompanied by the publication of an article which to all but the ultra-ritualists appears to condemn the practice.[39] But when the Bishop of Brechin can construe an omission of certain words from the XXVIIIth Article in a way favourable to his views, he tells us that "This alteration is much stronger than if the words omitted had never stood, for the omission was a deliberate act" (p. 553). And this difference of treatment in the two cases is the more remarkable because the words on the omission of which so much stress is laid by Bishop Forbes had never stood in the Articles as published, but only in the manuscript draft. Another expedient is to say that, where a thing has not been condemned, it must be lawful, although the reason why it has not been expressly condemned is evidently that it was never thought of as possible. Lastly, when all other devices fail, there is the resource of abusing the Reformers, of which the most outrageous instance is perhaps to be found in Dr. Littledale's lecture on "Innovations;" and when Cranmer and his associates have been denounced as worse than Robespierre and Marat, it is

[39] The writer of the 'Tract on the Seven Sacraments' has the audacity to say (p. 166) that inasmuch as the judgment of the Privy Council in the St. Barnabas case sanctioned the "ornaments" prescribed for use by the First Prayer-Book, "we need go no further to prove the legality of Unction" —although the Prayer-Book made no mention of a vessel for the oil, and, if it had done so, the exclusion of the rite would clearly have involved the abolition of the chrismatory.

inferred that to formularies devised by such monsters of wickedness no respect can possibly be due, even by those who have solemnly pledged themselves to them.

The spirit of disingenuousness and evasion, which is so largely exercised in their construction of our Church's Formularies, runs throughout the proceedings of the party. Thus, in the Court of Arches, their counsel endeavoured to represent the things which were charged on them as mere indifferent externals,—to disavow that significance which is loudly proclaimed elsewhere, and but for which the ultra-ritualists are in the habit of telling us that it would be unjustifiable to insist on the externals. After making all reasonable allowances for the professional duty of an advocate, we cannot read without astonishment the report of the fencing which was practised as to the lights on the altar by Mr. Prideaux, whose zeal in the cause appears to have been something more than professional.[40] Mr. Mackonochie endeavours at once to justify his lighted candles by the Injunction of Edward VI., which sanctions "two lights *upon* the high altar," and by the evasive plea that they "were not placed *on* the communion-table, but upon a narrow moveable ledge of wood resting on the said table."[41] An attempt is made to throw a haze over the purpose for which the consecrated elements were "elevated,"[42] although out of court there is no hesitation about owning and inculcating that the act is done in order to adoration.[43] So again, when Mr. Simpson, the defendant in one of the suits, was charged with having "placed the alms collected at the offertory, or the basin containing them, on a stool used as

[40] Second Report, pp. 191-2.

[41] Second Report, p. 35.

[42] Ib. pp. 231-4.

[43] See, *e.g.*, p. 314, n. 22; Mr. Bennett, Qu. 2766; 'Tracts for the Day,' pp. 278-9; 'Prayer-Book for the Young,' pp. 125, 127. Mr. Lindsay says, "The object of the elevation is not to invite adoration, *though we all do adore, as in duty bound*, but to show the Lord's death to His Father" ('Church and the World,' 1867, p. 466).

a credence-table instead of on the holy communion-table," he "denied that he had so placed them otherwise than to obtain more room upon the holy communion-table," and submitted that the act was "unintentional and inadvertent."[44] But if so, it is a very remarkable coincidence that the 'Directorium Anglicanum' (p. 60), the 'Ritual Reason Why' (pp. 93-4), and the 'Services with Sarum Rubrics' (p. 353), all agree in prescribing that, after the English rubric has been formally complied with by presenting the alms on the holy table, they shall be removed to the credence-table, because (according to the 'Reason Why') "it is not expedient that they should remain upon the altar, especially during the oblation and consecration of the elements."

Again, as to the lights in St. Barnabas' Church: they were (as we have already seen)[45] rescued from the judgment which Dr. Lushington was about to pronounce against them by the incumbent's making an affidavit that the candles were never lighted except when they were necessary for the purpose of giving light; but when they had thus escaped, the present incumbent (who was curate at the time of the trial before Dr. Lushington) tells us that he began to "light them always, and on principle—not for the purpose of light."[46] With such evidence before us, we cannot wonder that the prosecutor in the St. Alban's case thought it necessary to press for judgment as to practices which the defendant professed to have abandoned before the trial; for it is pretty clear that, if Mr. Mackonochie had been able by a temporary disuse to withdraw them from the cognizance of the courts, he would have held himself at liberty to resume them immediately afterwards.

But perhaps the most notable late instance of this kind is one which has arisen out of the celebration of "the Eleventh Anniversary of the Association for Promoting

[44] Second Report, p. 281. [45] p. 305. [46] Qu. 566-8.

the Unity of Christendom," at All Saints' Church, Lambeth, of which Dr. F. G. Lee is incumbent. The ceremonial display on this occasion is described as very elaborate. There was a procession, with acolytes, crucifers, taper-bearers, thurifer, Society of the Sacred Heart, Society of St. Joseph of Nazareth, Society of English Benedictines, and a variety of other *un*-English things, including a grossly Mariolatrous hymn. It appears that the Bishop of Winchester, in consequence of the notoriety which Dr. Lee had acquired as editor of the 'Directorium' and otherwise, had thought it necessary, before instituting him to the church, to exact certain promises from him that he would abstain from ritual extravagances; and, on Dr. Lee's admitting the substantial accuracy of the report which the newspapers had published of the "A. P. U. C." anniversary, a case was laid before Dr. Deane and Dr. Swabey, who gave their opinion that the hymn used on the occasion was "repugnant to the doctrine of the Church of England," and that "if proceedings are taken, judgment will be obtained against him."

The Bishop (who, in consequence of ill health, carried on the correspondence through his commissary Archdeacon Utterton), then reminded Dr. Lee of his promises, and urged him to express regret for the use of the objectionable hymn, as otherwise a prosecution would be unavoidable. In one of the letters Archdeacon Utterton writes:—

"The Bishop desires me to say that he accepts your assurance, that you have not in any respect (and especially as regards the use of vestments and incense) departed from your pledges, as literally true. At the same time his Lordship is somewhat startled to find mention of a 'thurifer' in the account of the procession. This has certainly led the public to believe that incense is used in your church."

Dr. Lee made a sort of submission as to the hymn, not regretting that he had used it, but that he had done so without the bishop's sanction; and he stated that "no

incense had at any time been burnt at All Saints' during divine service." On this, the archdeacon asked him whether incense had been burnt at all, and Dr. Lee declined to reply—adding the dictum of "two distinguished counsel," that the engagement into which he had entered with the bishop was on both sides an illegal act, and that in their opinion "neither in law nor in morals (!) are the terms of such a bond binding." Although, however, Dr. Lee refused to satisfy the bishop and the archdeacon, he afterwards confided to the 'Times' that he had burnt incense, but that, as it was only before and after (not *during*) service, his use of it was perfectly legal!

The disrespect with which Dr. Lee in this affair behaved towards his ecclesiastical superiors, is a striking characteristic of the party. Mr. Purchas, the original editor of the 'Directorium,' whose performances have lately disturbed the peace of Brighton, was even more defiant to the Bishop of Chichester than Dr. Lee has shown himself to the Bishop of Winchester. Mr. Nugee tells the Commissioners that, on receiving a letter from his bishop,—

"I wrote back, simply stating that, of course, as my spiritual father, I was bound to listen to his monition, which I was prepared to do. I said if he would kindly write to me in a letter as to anything which I did which was abnormal or illegal in the Church, I would tell his Lordship exactly what I would do. I said I should send it to Sir R. Phillimore, and abide by his decision." [47]

Mr. Bennett, being asked, "You do not act at all in conformity with the opinion of your bishop?" answers—"My bishop has never said a word to me on the subject."[48] And this is the gentleman who, when he thought that he might use his ecclesiastical superiors for his own purposes, inscribed on the wall of his church the motto from St. Ignatius, "Let nothing be done without the bishop." [49]

[47] Qu. 1992; see also Qu. 2021.
[48] Qu. 2572; Qu. 2627-8, 3021, *seqq.*
[49] Qu. 3048.

In his 'Plea for Toleration,' Mr. Bennett abuses the bishops heartily from the beginning to the end. Dr. Littledale tells us that they have neither piety nor learning; that "from the Primate downwards, not one single member of the [Ritual] Commission has the very smallest claims to be recognised as a theologian;" that the bishops are as deficient in justice and courtesy as in learning and religion.[50] And these general charges are accompanied by a quantity of personalities, which are fitter for the squabbles of newspaper-editors in the far-west of America than for the religious controversy of civilised men. Mr. Blacker despises the collective wisdom of the Upper House of Convocation;[51] Mr. Walker directs that, if a bishop refuse to confirm children on account of their age, the priest shall nevertheless ("being assured of their fitness") admit them to the holy communion.[52] And Mr. Blenkinsopp, who is as vehement and as coarse as any one of the party in his abuse of bishops, hopes that the day may come when bishops will be theologians and canonists, while, in the mean time, with a clumsy attempt at sarcasm, he exhorts the present bishops to repair their neglect of the study of ecclesiastical history.[53] We trust that, if their Lordships should follow this advice, they will be more fortunate in their studies than Mr. Blenkinsopp himself, who supposes Innocent III. to have saluted St. Anselm at the Council of Bari as "alterius orbis Papa,"[54] and relies on "the late *Arthur* Welby Pugin" as

[50] 'The Church and the World,' 1868, pp. 2, 19, 20, 23.

[51] Ib. 1867, p. 254.

[52] 'Services with Sarum Rubrics,' p. 333. The author of the 'Tract on the Seven Sacraments' has also much to say to the same effect (pp. 51-5). We do not, however, feel ourselves at all bound to justify the bishop who appears to be chiefly aimed at.

[53] 'Church and the World,' 1868, pp. 541, 554.

[54] It can hardly be necessary to explain to any of our readers that this is not a mere mistake of one pope's name for another, but that it is a mistake which no one acquainted in any degree with the history of either Anselm or Innocent could commit. Moreover, the title was given by

"an unexceptionable witness" on the history of Henry VIII. (p. 535.)

The Bishop of Gloucester, in February last, related in Convocation something of his own experience. Referring to a speech in which, two years before, he had "pleaded for some delay and forbearance" towards men whose very excesses he referred to an earnest love of their Saviour, and had "expressed the solemn hope that they would be willing at once to obey the voice of their bishops," he proceeded as follows:—

"I would to God that I could repeat those words conscientiously now. I stated then that there was a case in my diocese in which 150 communicants had requested leave for their minister to use vestments which, according to my humble judgment, I conceived were inexpedient to be used; and I told this House with joy and thankfulness how those men had obeyed the expressed wish and voice of their bishop. But I am grieved to say here, thus publicly, that after those fair and hearty words, not one of which I would retract now, were the circumstances the same—that, after those words had been uttered, I do not think six weeks elapsed before, without any further notice of any kind to me, and without any recurrence to my counsels, the so-called vestments were publicly used on one of the high festivals of the Church, and continue to be used to this day. The letter of a doubtful, diversely taken law is pressed against a bishop's sober judgment; and yet, until the law be defined, his own very reverence for law precludes that bishop from enforcing his own decision." [55]

It is assumed by the party that the directions or advice of their bishops must always be contrary to law; "sometimes," says Dr. Littledale, "the bishop gets some worthless legal opinion on his side, and the priest, knowing better, treats it as waste paper." The same authority

Urban II. to Anselm, not at Bari, but on the archbishop's first arrival at Rome; and the words were "alterius orbis apostolicus et patriarcha.' Eadmer, 'Vita S. Anselmi,' ii. 42. [See Appendix VIII. Another historical blunder of the same writer has been already noticed, p. 308.]

[55] 'Journal of Convocation,' Feb. 19, 1868, pp. 1150-1.

tells us that the clergy ought to disobey their bishops just as the Duke of Wellington "was incessantly obliged to disobey the commands of the Cabinet during his Peninsular campaign."[56] And one great object of the "English Church Union" is to support the clergy in opposition to their bishops—a work in which its reports are said to boast of great success.[57] Dr. Littledale, in his marprelatic frenzy, even presses into his service the fact that a violent meeting, held at Willis's rooms in opposition to ultra-ritualism, expressed "a very strongly-worded determination not to trust the bishops, much less to put power into their hands" (p. 42). Yet this, instead of telling against the bishops in the way intended by Dr. Littledale, may rather suggest a belief that the much-abused prelates may have displeased the zealots on each side simply by the moderation[58] and equity with which, on the whole, they have held the balance between the extreme parties. The "Schismatical Tendency of Ritualism" has been admirably exposed by Dr. Salmon, Regius Professor of Divinity at Dublin, in the volume entitled 'Principles at Stake.' Dr. Salmon points out that the members of the new school resemble rather the low churchmen than the Tractarians of former days, inasmuch as they show no feeling of the sinfulness of schism—the bond of union with them being not the organisation of the Church, but an agreement in the profession of certain opinions (pp. 234-6, 243); that they refuse obedience to the bishops from regarding them merely as instruments for the transmission of ordination, not as governors of the Church:—

[56] 'Church and the World,' 1868, pp. 47-8.

[57] 'Principles at Stake,' pp. 8-10.

[58] This word brings to our recollection a charming facetia of Dr. Littledale's, "A moderately good churchman is like a moderately fresh egg or a moderately virtuous woman" ('Church and the World,' 1868, p. 31). For our own part we never before heard of such a thing as a "moderately good churchman;" but we believe moderation to be a characteristic of good churchmanship.

"In the time of Ignatius," says Dr. Salmon, "the bishop ruled like the queen-bee in the hive. At present bishops are treated like the drones; their existence is recognised as for some mysterious reasons necessary to the continuation of the species, but if they meddle with the working members of the community, they are stung without mercy."—(p. 245.)

The Professor goes on to show that the party have no conception of diocesan rights of jurisdiction; and we have lately been furnished with a remarkable instance of this in the fact that the mild and tolerant Archbishop Longley, only a few days before his death, found himself compelled to rebuke sharply, and not for the first time, the invasion of an English diocese by a colonial bishop of ultra-ritualistic tendencies.[59]

But if bishops are not to be heeded, let us next inquire what authority there is to which these gentlemen would defer. Mr. Nugee, as we have seen, was willing to regulate his obedience to his bishop by the opinion of Sir Robert Phillimore (who, it need hardly be observed, was then Queen's Advocate); and Dr. Lee carried his sensitive conscience[60] to two unnamed but "distinguished" counsel, not only for a legal opinion, but for the solution of a question of moral casuistry. But it is clear that the opinions of lawyers are to be regarded only when in accordance with the wishes of the party. Dr. Littledale, for instance, has told us that any legal opinion which favours a bishop's view of a question is to be treated by a priest as waste paper; and Mr. Nugee, on being pressed with the opinion which his favourite jurisconsult had given against the use of incense, magniloquently replies that "That is only *pendente lite*," and that he will "forget Sir Robert Phillimore in the voice of the Church" (Qu. 2044-5). So Mr. Lindsay tells us that incense "can

[59] 'Guardian,' Nov. 2, 1868.

[60] "Anglo-Catholics have sensitive consciences," says Mr. Baring-Gould in 'The Church and the World,' 1868, p. 245.

be used only in one way, and that according to the custom of the Catholic Church"[61]—*i.e.* it can only be used in a way which the eight learned counsellors of the Church Union pronounce to be illegal. And Mr. Bennett declares that the opinion of lawyers are worth nothing until they take the form of judgments (Qu. 2692): in other words, he would disregard any historical and legal argument unless backed by coercive power, and would rush headlong into a suit, although warned by his professional advisers that he could have no chance of success in it.

Nor, if we look up from the bar to the bench, is there any authority there which can carry weight with the ultra-ritualists. Mr. Le Geyt calmly tells the Ritual Commissioners that he differs from the Judicial Committee of Privy Council as to the meaning of "authority of Parliament in the second year of King Edward the Sixth,"—leaving us to understand that his own opinion is the better of the two (Qu. 941). Mr. Bennett censures the present Archbishop of Canterbury for "going to law before the unbelievers"[62] and holds that the Privy Council, as being a State tribunal, has no claim to his obedience (Qu. 2995). And the judgment in the St. Alban's case has already called forth a prodigious quantity of furious abuse, both against the constitution of that court and against individual members of it who took part in the trial of the suit.

The degree of respect which the ultra-ritualists are disposed to yield to a Royal Commission may be inferred from the defiant and scornful tone which runs throughout the evidence of Mr. Bennett and Mr. Nugee, and which we can hardly suppose to have been mitigated by their personal demeanour. Perhaps, however, we may turn to the assemblies which represent the clergy, in the hope that their opinion may carry some weight with it; but here again we find ourselves utterly disappointed. The

[61] 'Church and the World,' 1867, p. 466.

[62] 'Plea,' p. 87.

opinion of Convocation, says Mr. Nugee, is of no value (Qu. 2384-9). Nor, Mr. Bennett would add, is the most solemn judgment that it may utter a whit better; for Convocation is merely an assembly for dealing with money. The upper house is made up of bishops, who are the creatures of the State; the lower house is packed with deans and archdeacons and canons, who are the creatures either of the State or of its creatures, the bishops; and even the diocesan proctors are elected by beneficed clergymen, who, as they must have got their livings from patrons of some sort or other, are unqualified to represent the mind of the Church.[63] Indeed, as curates are nominated by incumbents, we do not see how, on Mr. Bennett's principles, even a parliament of curates could be entitled to any more regard than the existing body. If Convocation should pronounce against the vestments, Mr. Blenkinsopp holds that it would be a duty to resist unto the death, and that the confessor or martyr in the cause of sartorial splendour would be arrayed in all the glory of a second Athanasius.[64]

This gentleman's views as to the legislative power of the Church are indeed very remarkable. He holds that the Act of Submission of the Clergy (24 Hen. VIII. c. 12), made a grievous error in declaring the independence of the English Church and kingdom, since out of this has grown the utterly mistaken idea of a separation and a hostility between England and Rome (pp. 529-530). But as to the restraint which that Act imposed on the making of canons, he considers that it is of very slight importance; for, as it applies only to the action of the two Convocations, which are the representative bodies of the Church, "as by law established," he infers that any Council unknown to the law—"Diocesan or Pan-Anglican"—is free from the restraints of the law, and may

[63] 'Plea,' pp. 35, 37, 71.

[64] 'Church and the World,' 1868, pp. 552-3, 555.

make canons at its own pleasure! (p. 534). Nor (it is added) does the XXIST Article interfere with this, inasmuch as it relates only to General Councils; so that the councils of Mr. Blenkinsopp's imagination *may* be "gathered together without the commandment and will of princes," and may go on at their own will without fear of any check from the civil power (p. 534). Nay, we are told that already

"the Pan-Anglican Synod, by declaring 'that unity will be most effectually promoted by maintaining the Faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in Holy Scripture, held by the Primitive Church, as summed up in the Creeds and affirmed by the undisputed General Councils,' endorses all that the Church up [? down] to the end of the seventh century, at least, when the last 'undisputed General Council' was held, believed and taught;" and that this includes "the seven sacraments; the eucharistic sacrifice, with lights, vestments, and incense; prayers for the departed, including a doctrine of purgatory, such as was taught by Clement of Alexandria; the primacy of the see of Rome; the infallibility of General Councils. To all this is that community, which we designate the Anglican Church, formally committed by the declaration of the Pan-Anglican Synod."—(pp. 553, 555.)

Assuredly, if this be the case, the Anglican Church has reason (if we may parody St. Jerome's famous expression as to the effect of the Council of Rimini)[65] to groan in astonishment at finding itself ultra-ritualist; and the bishops who attended the Lambeth Conference of 1867 must be as much surprised as any of us at discovering the result of their deliberations. But perhaps our alarm may be somewhat relieved by calling to mind such considerations as that the Lambeth meeting disowned the title of synod, and styled itself merely a conference; that its acts do not pretend to be binding on any one but those

[65] "Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est." Adv. Luciferianos, 19.

who subscribed them; that the resolution in question speaks only of matters of "faith, as summed up in the Creeds," under which description no one of the points named by Mr. Blenkinsopp is to be classed; that although some of these points, or something like them, may have been asserted here or there within the time named, not one of them was either generally acknowledged by the primitive Church or was ever decreed by any "undisputed" General Council.

Mr. Blenkinsopp talks very big about the duty of disobeying the synods of Canterbury and York, if they should "condemn or forbid a practice already allowed by the primitive Church at the undisputed General Councils" (p. 555). So Mr. Nugee, Mr. Bennett, and others, are quite oracular about the subordination of national canons to the decrees and usages of the whole Catholic Church of East and West (Qu. 779 seqq., 2054-5, 2536, 2789, 2584, &c.). It would be useless to remind these gentlemen that at ordination they have subscribed the XXXIVth Article, which asserts that "every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority," and that such things "may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners." Nor would it be of any avail to point out that the restraints put on this liberty, instead of any reference to supposed Catholic usage, are—"so that nothing be ordained against God's word," and "so that all things be done to edifying."

The sum of the matter appears to be, that the ultra-ritualists, while they are continually boasting that they have the law on their side, will endure no interpretation of the law but their own; and that by "the Primitive Church," "the Holy Catholic Church of East and West," "the voice of the Church in her General Councils," and the like resounding phrases, each man means simply his

own private judgment and fancy, from which he will allow no appeal. Nor is this "voice of the Catholic Church" by any means uniform. The question between Roman and Sarum usage as to the colours for vestments and altar-cloths seems to contain the germ of contests as fierce as the battles of the colours in the Byzantine hippodrome, although Mr. Nugee, unwilling that the parish of Wymering should stand in the way of a reunion of Christendom, ingeniously compromises the matter by combining the hues of Rome with the shapes of Sarum (Qu. 2254). Mr. Blenkinsopp is favourable to beards, while the editors of the 'Directorium' insist on a rigorous use of the razor.[66] While Mr. Nugee celebrates the black-letter festivals, with the festival of the May-queen (and possibly the "Festum Fatuorum" too), Mr. Bennett ignores such days altogether (Qu. 1955, 2024, 2361-3, 2690). While the 'Directorium' and Mr. Walker's books prescribe an infinitesimal fiddlefaddle, Mr. Nugee is content with "the bolder features of ritual," and does not think the "minutiæ" expedient—an opinion which he supports by the ethnological consideration that "what the Saxon wants is a grand ritual in its bolder and nobler features" (Qu. 1959, 2008). While Mr. Bennett speaks of the word *mass* as "common to us all" (Qu. 2687), Mr. Nugee declines to adopt it (Qu. 2401). While Wymering Church displays the initials of the blessed Virgin, no such objects are set forth for the reverence of Frome (Qu. 2415, 2808); nor has Mr. Bennett, as the books prescribe, used incense at the Magnificat (Qu. 2724). Again, Mr. Bennett, for his declarations against transubstantiation, is denounced by the youthful zeal of Mr. Cobb.[67] When a clergyman in the diocese of Chester had symbolised the gratitude of his parishioners for the fruits of the earth by offering a pig's head on the altar, he was disowned by Dr. Lee in a letter to the 'Times,' and was warned by

[66] See above, pp. 275, 287. [67] 'Sequel to the Kiss of Peace," p. 388.

other members of the party that he had brought himself under the condemnation of the so-called Apostolical canons. And (to mention but one more instance) while Mr. Bennett inveighs against the Act of Uniformity as the chief cause of our troubles,[68] while he insists on variety of usages, and makes the astounding statement that, because the Roman Church allows variety, *therefore* "a meeting-house does not exist," within the limits of her dominion,[69] Mr. Walker sets forth his "Services with Rubrical Directions according to the use of Sarum," with the view that this shall be the "uniform standard" (p. vii.). In direct opposition to Mr. Bennett (who seems to be a somewhat headstrong person, and very much accustomed to have his own way) a new standard of uniformity is set up for the whole Anglican communion by the authority of a gentleman as to whom, and as to the grounds of his claim to our obedience, we have been unable to discover anything whatever.

With so much disdain of all others the ultra-ritualists naturally combine an extravagant admiration of themselves. As a remarkable instance of this, we may mention that Mr. Mackonochie, in his answer to the articles brought against him in the Court of Arches, described himself as having "with the most unwearied zeal and self-devotion faithfully and diligently discharged his duty," and so forth—a declaration on which Sir J. D. Coleridge justly remarked, "He may be as self-devoted as he says he is, although as matter of taste I wonder he deals so largely in self-praise."[70] But such is the manner of the party. They boast of their goodness, of their labours, of their disinterestedness, of their triumphs. They tell us that,

[68] Q. 2987; 'Plea,' 73-4.

[69] 'Plea,' 80. Mr. Bennett considers it an act of schism to form English congregations in countries of the Roman communion, and will not join in the services of such congregations (Q. 2915-6).

[70] Second Report, pp. 35, 125.

while Anglicanism is helpless, "Catholicism" is all-powerful. They profess to reach classes which the Church has never reached before. The popularity of "sensational" novels is used as a warrant for instituting a monastic brotherhood, with a view to a "sensational" style of services and of preaching, from which great effects are expected.[71] And there is a brilliant scheme for bringing in the very dregs of the people by means of plays on sacred subjects, which are to be acted by a "confraternity" formed for the purpose."[72] When Mr. Nugee gave up the "Anglican"—by which he explains that he means the Cathedral—style of service, and established the "Catholic" mode, the Romanists of his neighbourhood were rendered furious by the rivalry; when he took to the vestments, the pence of his offertory increased threefold (Qu. 1967, 2026, 2150). The young officers of Portsmouth, to whom he believes himself to have a special "mission," instead of lounging on Southsea Common as formerly, flock in crowds to Wymering Church and make its services the theme of their Sunday chat (Qu. 2006); and if a retired solicitor has been driven to set up a meeting house, if the farmers forsake the church for it, if old admirals and naval captains in the parish growl, memorialise the bishop, and express with nautical strength of language their astonishment at the want of discipline among the clergy, the fault is theirs, not Mr. Nugee's (Qu. 2174-8, 2247*a*-2251, 2319-2321). At Frome, in proportion as the services became more ornate, they also became more effective (Qu. 2657). Dr. Littledale tells us that all people of cultivation are flocking into the new system; and, if we may believe Mr. Blenkinsopp, the Dissenters, who have hitherto scrupled at surplices and forms of prayer, are learning to delight in copes and chasubles, candles in broad day-light, and incense.[73]

[71] 'Church and the World,' 1868, pp. 159, *seqq.* [72] Ib. p. 595.
[73] See above, p. 324; 'Church and the World,' 1868, p. 72.

Let us honour labour for the good of men, by whomsoever it may be done: yet it is a large demand that on account of such things we should be required to approve of a fashion of religion which we believe to be utterly inconsistent with the principles of the Church into which it has been introduced.[74] As Mr. Shaw remarks, "zeal and devotion are to be found in the Church of Rome itself;"[75] nor can the existence of these qualities in the newly-risen party be any good reason why we should allow the English Church to be turned over to Romanism. Moreover, as we have already observed,[76] the movement is as yet in its early days; it is, as the Bishop of St. David's has said of it, "avowedly engaged in a missionary and proselytising work;" it is in a stage in which zeal and labour belong to all movements, so that from its present activity no fair argument can be drawn for their continuance; and it is too probable that, as that which we must admire grows less, the more objectionable parts of the system may become more pronounced. Such an apprehension as this is countenanced by a paper on "Sisterhood Life" in the second volume of 'The Church and the World.' We fully believe that great good has been done by the ladies who have associated themselves in sisterhoods; but it is generally considered that their outward peculiarities are marked to an unnecessary degree, and that their special devotions are faulty, as being rather Roman than English in character. The writer of the paper before us, however, tells us that these things are essential; that no system which is without them, however it may be sanctified by the motives of piety and charity, can hold sisterhoods together (pp. 168-9). But further, she tells us that sisterhoods mainly exist, not for works of mercy, but for "poverty, obedience, and chastity" (p. 175)—*i.e.* in order

[74] See Mr. Bernard, in 'Principles at Stake,' p. 194.

[75] Ib. pp. 41-2. Compare the Bishop of St. David's 'Charge,' 1866, p. 88.

[76] p. 325.

to carry out the ordinary vows of monastic societies. And thus the purpose which leads the outside world to bestow on these sisterhoods their respect, their sympathy, and perhaps their money, is declared to be subordinate to a purpose which we should certainly never regard with any favour unless we could reverse all our impressions of monastic history, and which may readily enough supersede the other altogether.[77]

With regard to the successes which are claimed by the ultra-ritualists, there is a great conflict of evidence. Dean Howson thinks that the proceedings of their party have alienated Dissenters, just as they were getting over their old scruples.[78] The Bishop of Ely speaks of the differences thus caused as producing alarm and uneasiness among all classes, and as endangering the general interests of religion and morality.[79] And the public have lately seen that, while these gentlemen are never weary of reproaching the Church with its treatment of Wesley, and are professing their own opinions to be in agreement with his, the late Wesleyan Conference alleged the extravagances of the ultra-ritualists as a proof that the Church in which such things exist could no longer be entitled to the sympathy of a Protestant communion. So far as we ourselves have been able to observe, it would seem that the successes of the party (among men, at least) have been chiefly with a very imperfectly educated and very conceited class; and that their congregations are rather formed on the eclectic

[77] Already it appears there are some nuns of the English communion who are strictly shut up and never go out at all; and when they become more numerous, they intend to establish the "perpetual adoration of the Holy Sacrament" (Guardian, Sept. 9). The Archbishop of Canterbury has stated in Convocation that the head of a sisterhood in his late diocese asked him to allow reservation of the Sacrament for a similar purpose; and that, when he refused this, as being inconsistent with the principles of the English Church, she and five of the sisters joined the Roman communion. ('Journal of Convocation,' Feb. 19, 1868, p. 114.)

[78] 'Principles at Stake,' p. 378; comp. pp. 324–5, above.

[79] 'Journal of Convocation,' Feb. 19, 1868, pp. 11332-3.

than on the local principle. With regard to the most famous of their churches, St. Alban's, Holborn, it appears that Mr. Mackonochie, having been presented to the incumbency by the munificent founder with the understanding that its services should be conducted in accordance with the true system of the English Church, forthwith proceeded to disregard his engagements and to set his patron at defiance.[80] If good has been done by means of that church among the wretched population which surrounds it, can it be shown that any portion of that good is due to the peculiarities which the founder supposed that he had provided against?

The question how this party may best be dealt with is one that for some years has pressed on Churchmen, and especially on the governors of the Church. How attempts at conciliation are likely to fare we may learn from the evidence of the Bishop of Gloucester, already quoted (p. 367). The present Archbishop of Canterbury has stated that, after the opinion of Convocation and the First Report of the Ritual Commission had been published, some clergymen in the diocese of London,—

"instead of suspending their practices, did push further, and adopt ritualistic practices which they had never adopted before, as if in defiance of the united expression of the opinion of the Episcopate, and in defiance of the expression of opinion on the part of the Synods of the two Provinces, and in order to show that they utterly disregarded the deliberate opinion of those entrusted by Her Majesty with the consideration of the question."[81]

"Nay, more," adds the Bishop of Ely, with reference to the same occasion, "I think we must all remember reading that influential persons had urged on the clergy to advance step by step in ritualistic practices, because the people of England, when they were used to things, could bear a great deal; and when they had become used to them, and these practices had

[80] See above, pp. 323–4.

[81] 'Journal of Convocation,' Feb. 18, 1868, p. 1059.

increased more and more in the different churches, it would be more difficult to put them down either by law or legislation."[82]

For ourselves, we believe that, for the purpose of ruining ultra-ritualism, nothing more would be needed than that we should take Dr. Littledale's advice, and "let it alone."[83] In the party now before us, the love of change is as strongly manifested as among the Bretts, and Campbells, and Deacons who figure in the melancholy history of the nonjurors, until after divisions and subdivisions and bitter disagreements, occasioned by progressive developments of extravagance, nonjurorism died out in a condition so miserably reduced that its extinction passed unnoticed by the world.

"At first," says Mr. Shaw, "much respect was professed for the older English divines, such as Hooker. Then it was found that the theology of the Elizabethan age, and even of that of James I., was by no means in harmony with that of Ritualism. It became, therefore, necessary to confine the period of Anglican orthodoxy within narrow limits. Laud and the Caroline divines were supposed alone to afford the true type; and those who took part in the revision of the Prayer-Book at the Restoration were deemed, by what they then effected, to have purged the Church from the evil leaven of the early Reformers. It would appear, however, that this last refuge is now failing; that this platform, which it was hoped was firm, though narrow, is felt to be giving way. The 'Church Times' has now found it needful to disavow the Caroline writers, and says: 'The plain fact is, that the modern Tractarian school accepts all that is positive in the writings of the Anglo-Catholic divines of the seventeenth century, and rejects the negative part.' In other words, it rejects, I presume, their protests against Rome, which form the principal negative part of their teaching; and this being so, one does not see why a Roman Catholic writer might not use the very same words as this ritualist organ."[84]

In like manner, as to ritual observances, Dr. Salmon

[82] 'Journal of Convocation,' Feb. 19, i. p. 127.
[83] 'Church and the World,' 1868, p. 29.
[84] 'Principles at Stake,' pp. 11-2.

remarks that, "in fact it is made a reproach to a church now if its ritual remains for a few years without alteration;" and he quotes, in proof of this, Mr. Bennett's complaint that the churches of St. Paul, Knightsbridge, St. Barnabas, Pimlico, and All Saints', Margaret street, from having once been in the van of the movement, have "made no advance" with the later developments.[85] We therefore believe it to be impossible that a party with principles so unsteady, and whose position altogether is so plainly false and untenable, could long hang together, even if unmolested from without. A few years hence, we should probably see the ultra-ritualists of the present day scattered by their own act—some to the Roman Church, in which they would reproach us for our past tolerance as a token of weakness, but would probably find their expectations bitterly disappointed; some, as in the case of the Tractarian party, carried by a violent recoil into latitudinarianism, or into something yet more remote from their present convictions; while many, it may be hoped, would feel the sobering influence of time, and, discarding the extravagances of their old pretensions, would fall into the ways of a truer English churchmanship. But however confidently we might expect some such result as this, the case is too urgent to allow us to await the slow operation of time. For the sake of others, for the assurance of the multitudes who are perplexed by distrust or suspicion, for the protection of those who are likely to be misled by the audacious pretensions of the ultra-ritualists, it was necessary that something should be done; and we are glad that suits have been instituted with a view of bringing some of the questions at issue to a legal determination. To cry out against this as persecution, is utterly unreasonable, since the ultra-ritualists continually boast that the law is on their side, and dare their bishops or

[85] 'Principles at Stake,' pp. 254-5. Bennett, in 'The Church and the World,' 1867, p. 23.

others to bring them into court, so long as they think it unlikely that they will be taken at their word.[86] There is, no doubt, the danger that a legal sentence adverse to them may produce a schism such as Mr. Baring-Gould and others are fond of threatening us with. But we imagine that all but a few of the party would think more than once before venturing on such a step; that the eyes of many who have been duped by their assertions as to the legality of their position would be opened, if, in addition to the opinions of bishops and synods, the judgment of those who are authorised to expound the law should decide against them.

The suggestion that if the law, in its present state, should be found unable to check the excesses of this party, recourse should be had to legislation, is denounced by Dr. Littledale[87] and others as something quite monstrous. But it is mere claptrap to represent this as "changing the law." If, for example, the ultra-ritualists should escape on the ground that the act of Henry VIII. for a revision of Ecclesiastical Laws was never carried out, and that therefore the mediæval canons are still in force, it is clear that a difficulty such as this is one which ought to be got rid of;[88] if they should be protected by the ambiguity of the Rubric as to Ornaments—a Rubric on which the most eminent lawyers have pronounced contradictory opinions, and as to which, while the letter seems to be on one side, the interpretation of authoritative

[86] At present the ultra-ritualists are clamorous about toleration, and Dr. Littledale professes it towards others; although (as Dr. Salmon truly remarks, p. 257) on the assumption that all who do not agree with himself are fools or knaves. But Mr. Blenkinsopp has already got the Roman principle that conscience cannot be truly alleged in opposition to the Church (p. 565); and we need not point out the consequences.

[87] 'Church and the World,' 1868, pp. 17-8.

[88] We leave this sentence as it was written before the delivery of the late judgment, which has disposed for ever of Mr. Perry's strange chimera as to the obligation of the mediæval canons.

documents, as well as of continuous usage, without any known exception, is on the other—it is only reasonable that the meaning of "authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI." should be cleared up by the like authority in the reign of Queen Victoria. We should earnestly deprecate any change of the law; but we agree with the Bishop of Oxford in thinking that the Rubric, if it cannot be clearly interpreted by a court of law, ought to be interpreted "by the Legislature, mounting up step by step to the highest authority." [89]

It is not uncommonly said that it is unjust to interfere with the excesses of the ultra-ritualists so long as the ritual defects or irregularities of other parties are left uncensured. This objection has, indeed, a certain plausibility, and has even found an utterance in the answer returned to an anti-ritualistic memorial by a prelate universally respected for character and learning — the Bishop of Chester. On the other hand, we may range the authority of the late Primate, who says,—

"It is not for me in any way to countenance such shortcomings, but I could not say with truth that those who had been following irregular practices, which custom had long sanctioned, are equally to blame with those who introduce innovations, with a special object, which we believe to be foreign to the letter as well as the spirit of our formularies."—(p. 18.)

And the matter has been (as it seems to us) conclusively dealt with by Mr. Shaw, in the opening paper of 'Principles at Stake,' to which (as the passage is too long for quotation) we beg leave to refer our readers.[90]

The judgment of the Privy Council in the St. Alban's case is so recent that there has not been time to see fully how the ultra-ritualists will take it, or even to apprehend the whole of its meaning. At first there was a disposition

[89] 'Journal of Convocation,' Feb. 19, 1868, p. 1149.
[90] 'Principles at Stake,' pp. 22-4.

to exaggerate its bearings in opposition to the supposed leanings of the prosecuting party. It has been thought that a sentence, in which the Committee declare the words "standing before the table" to apply to the whole rubric before the prayer of consecration, was intended to forbid the priest's moving from the front to the north end of the holy table after having "ordered" the elements. A sentence in which they speak of the ornaments of King Edward's First Book as being authorised by our present rubric has been interpreted as meaning that the vestments are of universal obligation. And the declaration that all rubrics are equally binding has been made the foundation for alarming inferences, mostly unfavourable to the "evangelical" party, although as to one important point —the position of the holy table at communion-time—the rigour of the rubric would go far beyond the wishes of any existing member of that party in opposition to ultra-ritualism, by requiring that the table should be removed into the body of the church, and that its ends should be turned east and west. But by the help of writers who have some knowledge of legal principles, these inferences appear to be now dissipated. The question actually before the Committee as to the position of the priest during the prayer of consecration related to the difference between standing and kneeling only—not to the difference between looking towards the east or towards the south. The dictum as to the ornaments of Edward's second year was repeated from the judgment in the case of Westerton *v.* Liddell, and therefore leaves the question where it was; and by hints elsewhere given as to the value of traditional exposition, and as to the distinction between "retaining" and reviving, the Committee show that in any special suit about the vestments they would not feel themselves precluded from taking into consideration the documents and historical facts which have modified the rubric ever since, in a slightly different form, it

first appeared in the Prayer-Book of Elizabeth. Neither the declaration as to standing before the table, nor that as to the ornaments, has the force which has been ascribed to it, inasmuch as no one of the matters to which they have been supposed to apply was before the court or had been argued by counsel. Nor need we fear from the dictum as to the obligation of the rubrics that any impossible or obsolete rules will be enforced.

On the part of the ultra-ritualists there have been many displays of intemperance, although we believe that those which have fallen under our own notice are far short of things which have appeared in the newspapers of the party. Some of them have declared their intention of going further than they had before gone. One incumbent of a prominent London church, who had been sometimes taunted with having failed to accompany the advances of the last few years, after having at one time been in the very front of the movement, has taken this opportunity to increase his ceremonial, and has actually had the flagrant indecency to denounce from the pulpit the order for the extinction of the altar-lights as a "contradiction of the most holy truth" for the signification of which the lights were suffered by Edward's injunctions to remain—that "Christ is the light of the world." The judgment has been again and again spoken of as unjust, as a novel oppression and tyranny, although the ceremonialists have been told by dispassionate inquirers for more than a quarter of a century that their plea for lights could not stand the test of historical or legal investigation. The ultra-ritualists, with their usual consistency, at one time declare the judgment to be worthless because Lord Westbury was supposed to have had a share in it, and at another time because this "greatest legist of the day" (as Dr. Littledale is pleased to style him) was rumoured to have withheld his concurrence. Lord Cairns is reviled, even from the pulpit, as a

Presbyterian—a description for which there is no ground whatever except the appearance of his name, and which might therefore be with equal justice applied to Mr. Mackonochie; and the Archbishop of York, who, for some reason unknown to us, appears to be especially obnoxious to the party, is violently abused for having performed a duty which, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, it was impossible for him to decline, by sitting on the Committee.

On Tuesday, the 12th of January (as we learn from the papers of the following day), a meeting attended by more than 300 of those who felt themselves aggrieved by the Judgment was held at the Freemasons' Tavern. In the speeches delivered at this meeting, and in the Memorial which it agreed to present to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Convocations of the two Provinces, the grievances of the ultra-ritualists were put forward with the usual amount of assumption. It is assumed that the religious use of lights in the day-time has come down to us from the primitive Christians, whereas there is really no doubt that it was brought into the Church after the time of Constantine, through the contagious influence of paganism; for it was ridiculed by Lactantius as a custom in his age peculiar to the heathen;[91] it was censured by St. Jerome, in the beginning of the fifth century;[92] nor can the usage of placing lights on the altar itself be traced back beyond Innocent III., who wrote in the end of the twelfth century.[93] It is assumed that the signification for the sake of which the lights were retained by Edward's Injunction is inseparably connected with them; nay, Mr. Shipley pathetically asked, "If they extinguish their lights, how were they to teach their people?"—a question which it is no business of ours to answer. But in truth the symbolical meaning of the lights, instead of having been

[91] Div. Inst. vi. 2.
[92] Contra Vigilantium, c. 7.
[93] Schmid, 'Liturgik,' ii. 39; cf. Pugin, 'Glossary,' p. 15.

defined by "Catholic consent," in the way which is now supposed, was very variously construed by the ritualists of the middle ages; and even the Injunction itself, in suffering the lights to remain on the high altar while it did away with all other lights before images, pictures, &c.. would seem to have chiefly intended a *negative* sort of teaching—a declaration against the misdirected reverence which had interfered with the scriptural faith in Him who is "the very true Light of the world."[94] It is assumed that "such use of lights has been legally binding in this Church of England:" whereas the legality was the very point in question, and the decision which has been given against it appears to us the only one that would agree with historical facts. Much was said against the tribunal before which the case was tried—a tribunal which, however unsatisfactorily constituted for the trial of heresy, is surely competent to undertake the legal construction of rubrics, and whose sentence is here in accordance with the mind of Churchmen in general. There is an elaborate attempt to convict the Judicial Committee of inconsistencies and absurdities by means of quirks hardly worthy of the lowest attorney. The misconceptions and distortions of history with which Mr. Perry has already made us too familiar are reproduced with an obstinacy which forces on us the remembrance of a text about the fruitlessness of braying a certain class of persons in a mortar. And to these is now added a wilful misconstruction of some words used by the bishops who met in conference at Lambeth, as if, by speaking of the "pure worship" which the Eastern Church had "inherited," they intended to convey an approval of the details of Eastern ritual. There were threats of separation between Church and State—a separation which would at once be followed by that of the ultra-ritualists from the rest of the

[94] See above, p. 80.

Church, and which, in no long time, would probably lead to the extinction of the party. Yet with all the groundless assumptions, the misplaced indignation, and the reckless violence displayed at the meeting, it is matter of satisfaction that the great majority of those who assembled in the Freemasons' Tavern declined to affirm the resolution proposed by Mr. Bennett—that in this question "the meeting is unable to reconcile submission to the present decree with its paramount and primary duty of obedience to the Church." The resolution by which the members bound themselves "to spread in all possible ways the doctrine of the Real Presence" (according to their understanding of that term) opens up to us a gloomy prospect of painful future disputes; but it is something that for the present the ultra-ritualists have, with few exceptions, shown themselves able to draw a distinction in comparative importance between the lighting of candles and the highest articles of the Christian faith; that they have declared themselves ready to submit to the law, "under protest," instead of compelling the enforcement of it.

In the mean time the judgment appears to have been generally received as equitable and satisfactory. And as to those who have been active in promoting the suit, whether clergy or laity, we trust that, after having succeeded in their attempt to control excesses, they will see the propriety of correcting such defects as may be noticeable in their own ritual practice, however these defects may be palliated by the plea of long-continued usage. Within our remembrance the rigorous view of the rubric was advocated as binding on the consciences of all the clergy, as something which was to be carried out in utter disregard of custom, and in defiance of popular feeling. But happily a milder view prevailed, and the consequence is that things which at the earlier time would have produced a commotion, as being symbols of party spirit, have

now altogether lost that character, and may be adopted without raising opposition or suspicion. And we have seen with great pleasure a letter, published by an eminent evangelical clergyman, Dr. Miller, of Greenwich, in which the present circumstances are rightly turned to account. With an extract from this letter we shall conclude, in the hope and trust that advice so evidently reasonable from a man so highly respected will not be found ineffectual.

"The conviction has for some time been deepening in my own mind, that the Evangelical clergy must be prepared, not only as a matter of policy, nor only for the sake of order and of peace, but as a matter of conscience and duty, to adhere closely to the rubrics. One of the great evils under which we are labouring is a state of all but lawlessness in matters of ritual. It is a scandal and a weakness. And I venture to express my conviction that it will be for the strength and honour of the Evangelical clergy to show that, as a literal and close obedience to the rubrics involves (thank God!) no surrender of principle, they are prepared to do their utmost for unity and order in matters which are essentially minor matters as compared with points of doctrine, but not trifling as involving the question of obedience. I have not forgotten, nor do I underrate the argument, that the *Tu quoque*, so often urged against us, loses much of its edge, because where rubrical observances have fallen into desuetude, and the clergy have had no meaning of a doctrinal character in practices to which custom seemed to give the force of law, such cases of defect are clearly not parallel to the cases of positive innovation and revival which have avowedly involved symbolic intention, and been adopted as the outward expression of dogma. But, as I believe that our people, for the most part, respect law, and are jealous only of approximation to Rome, we shall carry them with us in our recognition of the fairness of applying the decisions of the judgment to ourselves, as well as to the ritualists. What is to be deprecated is isolated individual action. I would, in all humility, suggest that we should take counsel together, and, in a spirit of prayer, honesty, and candour, determine upon our course. Let us first distinctly ascertain the points in which the judgment bears on the practice. Where duty is clear, let us not wait for Episcopal monitors to

compel us. In points of doubt or diversity of opinion let us 'resort to the bishop of the diocese.' And throughout, let us not forget that the clergy do not constitute the Church. Our laity must be considered, consulted, and not overridden. If changes are now necessitated, let us explain our position to them, and make it clear that we are not innovating from caprice or from sympathy with Rome, or as symbolising false doctrine, but only under a sense of duty, and in obedience to law and order."

APPENDIX.

I.—Holy-days (p. 45).

By an act passed A.D. 1551,[1] working on holy-days was allowed only "in harvest, or at any other times in the year when necessity shall require." Compare Elizabeth's Injunctions, No. xx.[2] Greenham, a Puritan of the time of Elizabeth, writes, "Error hath been much spoken against, but truth not so thoroughly taught. Example, in superstitious holy-days, the breakneck of the Lord's Sabbath—men now not sparing to work on the Lord's day also, because they have not been taught to sanctify it."[3] Cartwright says, "For anything I could ever learn, we are by the laws as much bound from labour upon the Saints' days as upon the Lord's day."[4] As to the manner of observance, see Whitgift, ii. 566; Crakanthorp, Def. Eccl. Angl. 317, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. The Presbyterians required, at the Savoy Conference, that "the people be not upon such days forced wholly to abstain from work."[5] The Episcopal divines reply—"The people may be dispensed with for their work after the service, as authority pleaseth."[6] Stillingfleet[7] may be consulted on the history of holy-days. Dispensations, he tells us, were allowed before the Reformation—"Our Church[8] requires holy-days to be observed with works of piety, charity, and sobriety, but gives no rule of abstinence from works, or the strict obligation of conscience."[9] Archdeacon R. I. Wilberforce[10] quotes from the register of his archi-diaconal court an instance of a clergyman presented in 1725 "for neglect of his duty in not celebrating Divine service on several Sundays and holy-days;" and another of one presented in 1683, for "omitting to read Divine service generally upon holy-days, and for not declaring holy-days and fasting-days

[1] Gibson, Codex, i. 278. [2] Doc. Ann. i. 188.
[3] Haweis's Sketches of the Reformation, 250.
[4] Second Replie, ii. 197. [5] Conf. 306. [6] Ib. 341.
[7] Eccl. Cases, i. 198. [8] Can. xiii. [9] Ib. 201.
[10] Church Discipline, 72-3.

after the reading of the Nicene Creed upon the Sundays before, and for not catechizing the youth either Sundays or holy-days," also for omission of the perambulation in Rogation-week. It may be doubted, however, whether much can be learned hence as to the general practice of the times in question, since the parties appear to have been guilty of many other neglects, which may have been the real reason of the proceedings against them, although it was found expedient to put these items forward. The results in these cases are not stated.

II.—Charles I. at Edinburgh (p. 75).

The Rev. J. F. Russell, in his evidence given before the Ritual Commissioners, in November, 1867,[1] referred to Spalding, as quoted in my first edition, for evidence that at the Edinburgh coronation of 1633 the candles on the altar were lighted. It is therefore necessary to explain the history of the matter.

In my first edition, the passage was taken from an octavo reprint of Spalding, published at Aberdeen in 1829. The reading of that book is "on light," and I supposed the words, as Mr. Russell now supposes them, to mean *a-light* or *lighted*.

While preparing my second edition, I consulted the quarto Spalding, published by the Bannatyne Club, and found its reading to be "unlight." This I accordingly produced, with a remark on the "curious discrepancy" between the two copies; adding "That which reads *unlight* is of the higher authority in general: but is not, I am informed, to be regarded as conclusive" (p. 93).

Six years later—in 1850—appeared a new edition of Spalding, carefully prepared by my friend Mr. John Stuart for the Spalding Club. The reading here (vol. i. p. 36) is "on lichtit:" and this not only settles the question of fact, but shows that the octavo Spalding is really in accordance with the Bannatyne book as to that fact. For (as I ought to have known from the recollections of my early life) in Spalding's dialect the word or particle *on* has a negative or privative sense, so that *on light*, *unlight*, and *on lichtit* all mean the same thing.

I must remark that although in this instance Mr. Russell was careful to confine himself to my first edition, he has elsewhere shown himself well acquainted with the second.

[1] Second Report, p. 4.

III.—The Ten Commandments set up in Churches (p. 139).

It has been very confidently asserted that the 82nd Canon of 1604 intended the Commandments to be placed, not (as has been usual) at the east end of the chancel, but in the chancel-arch, so as to fill up the space which had been left vacant by the removal of the rood.[1] But this view appears to be clearly contradicted by facts.

Elizabeth, in 1560, ordered, "that the tables of the Commandments may be comely set or hung up in the east end of the church, to be not only read for edification, but also to give some comely ornament and demonstration that the same is a place of religion and prayer."[2] And with this accorded the Orders of 1561, that the Communion-table should "out of the times of receiving" stand on the place where the altar-steps had formerly been, "and further, that there be fixed upon the wall, over the said Communion-board, the tables of God's precepts, imprinted for the said purpose." In the same Orders it is directed that the roodlofts, if not yet "transposed," shall be "quite taken down, unto the upper parts of the vaults and beam running in length over the said vaults, by putting some convenient crest upon the said beam towards the church."[3] Here it is evident that the Commandments were intended to be on the east wall of the chancel, and that the upper part of the chancel-arch was not to be filled up.

Bp. Aylmer in 1577 and Archbp. Sandys in the following year inquire as to the taking down of the roodloft, and whether a decent crest be put instead of it.[4] Cox, bishop of Ely, had inquired about 1570-4, "whether the east wall of the quire be hanged with a fair cloth, and the paper of the ten Commandments fastened in the midst thereof."[5]

There can be no reasonable doubt that the advertisements of 1565 which order the Commandments to be "set over the said table," and the Canon of 1604 which directs that they be "set

[1] Ecclesiologist, iii. 36.
[2] Doc. Ann. i. 262.
[3] Orders, reprinted in Heylyn, Hist. Ref. ii. 361, ed. Eccl. Hist. Soc.
[4] Rit. Com. Rep. ii. 419, 403.
[5] Ib. 407. It will be observed that in the Orders of 1561 the Commandments are described as "imprinted;" the next clause being—"Provided yet that in cathedral churches the tables of the said precepts be more largely and costly painted out, to the better shew of the same."

upon the east end of every church or chapel," are to be interpreted agreeably to the Orders of 1561.[6]

IV.—The Meaning of "Oblations" (p. 188).

For examples of such senses as those mentioned in the text I may refer to Latimer's Sermons, pp. 22-4 (ed. Park. Soc.), where oblations are expressly distinguished from alms, and among them are reckoned such works as building and adorning churches, and setting up of candles before images; the injunctions of Edward VI. and Elizabeth (Doc. Ann. i. 18, 190); Hooker, v. 79. 1; the Madrid regulations, given above, p. 19; Andrewes, vi. 354; Bramhall, iii. 434; Wren, in Doc. Ann. ii. 205;[1] Gavanti, iii. 163; Laud's Oxford Statutes ("ante mensam sacram eucharistiæ oblationes faciant);" Cosin, in Nicholls App. 52; L'Estrange, 179; the Scotch Liturgy of 1637, where, as in that of the present day, the devotions of the people are expressly styled "oblations;" Taylor, xv. 298; Duppa, in Tract 81, p. 126; Sparrow, Rationale, 206-210; Stillingfleet, Eccl. Cases, i. 243; Johnson, in Tract 81, p. 346; Gibson, in many places; Nicholls, on the Offertory; Burn (articles *Altarage* and *Pentecostals*); Martene, i. 139. The minister's dues on the churching of women are styled in the rubric "offerings"—a word identical in origin and meaning with "oblations;" and we are still familiar with the term *Easter Offerings*.

"Under the general name of oblations," says Ayliffe, "we may reckon all such things, whether moveable or immoveable, as accrue to the Church by any right and title whatsoever. But in the particular sense of the word, that is only called an oblation which is made by the priest and the people at the altar at the celebration of the Eucharist; and such a kind of oblation is due, according to the canon law, on all the chief festival days of the year. . . . But here in England, since the 24th of Henry VIII., which abolishes this part of the canon law in respect of altar-oblations to the priest, all oblations there made are converted

[6] See the extracts from Wren, L'Estrange, and Williams, pp. 138-9, which all suppose the commandments to be on the east wall; also Dr. Lushington's Judgment in the Knightsbridge Cases, Moore's Report, 77-8.

[1] For this reference, which I had overlooked, I am indebted to Professor Conington, Contemp. Rev. vii. 407.

into alms of charity towards the maintenance of poor parishoners.[2] But yet there are some occasional offerings still remaining, as at marriages, churching of women, &c." [3]

V.—The Crown and the Prayer-Book (p. 259).

James I. says, in his proclamation "For the Authorising and Uniformity of the Book of Common Prayer," that he had empowered commissioners to revise the Common Prayer, and to explain certain points "according to the form which the laws of this realm in like case prescribe to be used." [1] Thus he claims for the alterations the sanction of the Act of Uniformity, 1 Eliz., which reserved to the Queen and her commissioners the power of ordering rites and ceremonies; but, as is observed by Watson,[2] the act appears intended to give the power to Elizabeth only, and not to her successors. Heylyn argues for the continuance of the authority as given by the act to succeeding sovereigns.[3] Archbishop Williams [4] quotes an opinion of the judges, that it "was not a statute introductory of a new law, but declaratory of the old." (This view appears too similar to that embodied in the statute of Henry the Eighth's subservient Parliament, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8, which, in investing royal proclamations with the authority of law, professes to be merely declaratory of "what a king by his royal power might do.") Williams seems to regard the power of regulating such matters as inherent in the sovereign's prerogative, as does also L'Estrange.[5] Archbishop Sharp [6] holds it most correct to say that "the king alone hath all church power; but in some cases he cannot exercise it without the three estates" (Lords, Commons, and Clergy). Neal objects to the alterations of 1604, that "by the same power that his majesty altered an article in the Liturgy, he might set aside the whole; every sentence being equally established by Act of Parliament." [7] This does not appear correct, as the alterations were declared to be of a merely *ritual* kind, and to come within the power in ritual matters which had been reserved to the Queen in 1559. "However," adds Neal, "the force of all proclamations determining with the king's life, and there being no subsequent Act of Parliament to establish these amendments, it was urged

[2] See p. 178. [3] Parergon, 392, 394.
[1] Keeling, p. ix. [2] Clergyman's Law, p. 321; and Burn, iii. 415.
[3] Coal from the Altar, 58, 63. [4] Holy Table, p. 25.
[5] Alliance, p. 22. [6] Life, i. 238. [7] i. 404.

very justly (by *Puritans*) in the next reign, that this was not the Liturgy of the Church of England established by law, and consequently not binding upon the clergy." [That Churchmen in general yielded an unhesitating obedience to the royal orders, see Archd. Harrison, 150.] The spirit of eminent Churchmen in the 17th century as to questions of this nature was indeed so widely different from that of the party with which we are now concerned, that it might very easily have run into error of an opposite kind.

VI.—The Annotated Prayer-Book (p. 273).

The following letter was forwarded to me by the late Editor of the 'Quarterly Review:'—

"The Rev. J. H. Blunt, Editor of 'The Annotated Book of Common Prayer,' begs respectfully to draw the attention of the Editor of the 'Quarterly Review' to the marked portion of the following advertisement, in connection with the note respecting his work in the last number of the *Quarterly*."

[The lines especially marked are these:]—

"*An honest endeavour has been used throughout to avoid party bias, as well as to exclude everything inconsistent with a hearty and thorough loyalty to the Church of England.*"

"Mr. Blunt claims to have carried out his endeavour, and submits that the accusation made in the note referred to is made in too flippant a manner when made against a work of so large a bulk, and on which so much pains and study has been expended.

"*Breamore Rectory, Salisbury,*
"*Feb.* 2, 1867."

Although it did not appear to me that Mr. Blunt had any claim to redress in the pages of the Review, perhaps it may be well, in republishing the article, to notice his letter.

The charge of flippancy may be left to the reader's judgment.

The charge of having done injustice to the "bulk" of Mr. Blunt's book, and to the labour bestowed on it, may be best met by quoting the first words of the notice:—"There is a great

deal of valuable information in this handsome and comprehensive volume."

I am quite willing to believe that Mr. Blunt has "endeavoured to avoid party bias." But I cannot think either that he has taken the right way towards that end, or that he has been at all successful in his pursuit of it. Of seven gentlemen who are named as having written portions of the book, four are also contributors to the first volume of 'The Church and the World,' while the others appear to be in agreement with them.[1] And with such a choice of writers, the natural result of Mr. Blunt's "endeavour to avoid party bias" is, that on almost every point as to which there has been any dispute, this book presents us with the views of the ultra-ritualists. I gladly acknowledge, however, that, so far as I have observed, the Annotated Prayer-Book is free from that malignity towards the English Church which is so ostentatiously displayed by some of Mr. Shipley's essayists.

That the opinion which has offended Mr. Blunt is not peculiar to the Quarterly reviewer, may be seen by reference to the 'Contemporary Review' of March, 1868, where Professor Conington has analysed that part of the Annotated Prayer-Book which relates to the Communion-service. "I have," says Professor Conington, "as little title as I have wish to dispute the learning there displayed; but it seems to me to be applied almost throughout, not to candid exposition, but to polemical pleading." (p. 402.)

VII.—Extract from Bishop Wren's Defence (p. 316).

"He declares that he doth use the consecratory form the Church of England hath appointed, and no other: viz., he doth it standing at the Lord's table, with the bread and wine placed openly before him. . . . He acknowledgeth that for the better taking of the bread, and for the easier reaching both of the flagon and the cup (because they stood upon the table further from the end thereof than he, being but low of stature, could reach over his book unto them, and yet still proceed on in reading

[1] There is a fifth contributor who is common to both books; but as he appears in the Prayer-Book only as an artist, it might be hardly fair to reckon him.

of the words without stop or interruption, and without spilling the bread and wine), he did in Tower Church, in Ipswich, anno 1636, turn unto the west side of the table; but it was only while he rehearsed the forementioned collect, in which he was to take the bread and the wine, and at no other time.

"And he humbly conceiveth, that although the rubric says that the minister shall stand at the north side of the table, yet it is not so to be meant as that upon no occasion during all the communion time he shall step from it. . . . Insomuch, therefore, as he did stand at the north side all the while before he came to that collect, wherein he was to take the bread and the wine into his hands, and as soon as that was done, thither he returned again; he humbly conceiveth it is a plain demonstration that he came to the west side only for more conveniency of executing his office, and no way in any superstition, much less in any imitation of the Romish priests; for they place themselves there at all the service before and at all after, with no less strictness than at the time of their consecrating the bread and wine.

"But he denieth that ever he did use any elevating of the bread and wine, much less that he made any elevation so high as that the bread and wine might be seen over his shoulders; whereof abundant testimony will be had of many [of whom five are named]. He therefore saith that only in repeating the words of institution, he took the silver plate wherein the bread was, into his hand but then he never lifted his hand from the table whereon it rested; and no otherwise did he with the cup also; whereas in the Popish Church the use is, &c. . . . This defendant is ready to pronounce *anathema* to any superstitious or idolatrous usages or intentions by him in that kind ever had, and to profess that he doth faithfully and totally adhere to the article of the Church of England, 'that the Sacrament is not to be carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.'"—*Parentalia*, pp. 103-4, Lond. 1750.

Here it will be seen that, in addition to a strong disavowal of the practice for which his authority has been lately cited, Bishop Wren bears unequivocal testimony as to the sense in which he (and his contemporaries) understood the term "north side of the table," and the condemnation of Roman usages in the XXVIIIth Article.

VIII.—St. Anselm and the Council of Bari (p. 367).

The following letter was published in the 'Guardian' of March 24, 1869 :—

"Sir,—A passage in the last *Quarterly* has been pointed out to me, on which perhaps you will be kind enough to allow me to make a few remarks. The passage occurs in p. [366.] It is as follows. [Here are quoted the sentence beginning 'We trust,' and the note 'It can hardly be necessary, &c.']

"I confess with the utmost humiliation that I wrote Innocent III. instead of Urban II. I have nothing to say in extenuation of my carelessness; it is gross, palpable, inexcusable. But I must be allowed to express my extreme surprise that my critic, with all his flourish of superior learning, should fall into a far greater mistake in contradicting my assertion of a matter of history, 'a mistake,' to use his own words, 'which no one acquainted in any degree with the history of either Anselm or Innocent could commit,' for my account is correct, whatever his may be. It was at Bari that the Pope used the words I quoted, as the following extract will show. After assigning a seat to St. Anselm, the Pope said, 'Includamus hunc in orbe nostro, quasi alterius orbis Papam.' (*Wil. Malms. de Gestis Pontif. Angl.* lib. i.; vide *Binii Concil.* t. iii. p. ii. p. 421.) I am not denying that the Pope may have used the words quoted by the reviewer, at the subsequent council at Rome, though I cannot find that he did. I only contend that he did use the words I quoted, and at the place I mentioned.

"With equal humiliation, and with an abject feeling of shame, I plead guilty to writing 'Arthur' instead of 'Augustus.' What can I say more? except that with profound astonishment and speechless surprise I find my hypercritical critic actually writing Maunday Thursday instead of Maundy Thursday!

'Arcades ambo
Et cantare pares, et respondere parati.'

"E. L. Blenkinsopp.

"*Springthorpe Rectory, March* 5, 1869."

The only part of this strange composition which I shall notice is that which relates to St. Anselm.

Mr. Blenkinsopp, while attacking our bishops as being in his

opinion ignorant of Church-history, used words which implied either that Anselm's quarrels with the sovereign of England belonged to the reign of John, or that Innocent III. was contemporary with William Rufus. Of this it surely was not too much to say it was "a mistake which no one acquainted in any degree with the history of either Anselm or Innocent could commit." But it would be utterly absurd to apply such language to any possible blunder as to the place where a complimentary title was given by a Pope to Anselm, or as to the exact words in which the compliment was paid. Mr. Blenkinsopp's comparative estimate of the mistake which he confesses and of that which he imputes to me, is therefore marked by his usual infelicity. But let us see how the matter really stands as to my supposed error.

I was aware that the story is (with the exception of the confusion between Urban and Innocent) usually told as Mr. Blenkinsopp tells it, although I had forgotten that William of Malmesbury might be cited in support of this version. But the primary authority for the history of Anselm is Edmer, his confidential chaplain and the companion of his exile; of whom Malmesbury himself in one place says, "Supersedendum est in historia quam reverendissimi Edmeri præoccupavit facundia,"[1] and elsewhere, "Non seriatim verba, sed summatim facta, exsecuturus sum, prono favore domino Edmero cedens, qui omnia ita lucide exposuit, ut ea quodam modo subjecisse oculis nostris videatur."[2] Edmer's account of the matter, then (to which I gave a reference in the Review), is, that at the first interview which Anselm had with Urban, after having made his way from England to Rome, the Pope used these words, "Illum . . . quasi comparem, vel ut alterius orbis apostolicum et patriarcham, jure venerandum censemus." So that if we admit Malmesbury's story to be true, as well as Edmer's, the compliment must have been first uttered at Rome and afterwards repeated at Bari; and my fault would amount only to this—that I had contented myself with the best authority, and had not thought it necessary to consult another writer of somewhat later date, and whose means of information were less, but whose story might be received as supplementary to the other.

As to this last point, however, I must say that I have great

[1] Gesta Regum, l. iv.; Magne, Patrol. clxxix. 1278.
[2] Gesta Pontiff. i.; ib 1.

doubt — or, rather, that I believe Malmesbury to be wrong. Edmer has left two accounts of St. Anselm—the 'Life,' which relates chiefly to his personal history, and the 'Historia Novorum,' which is of a more public character. In the 'Life' he relates the scene with Urban at Rome, and slightly mentions the council of Bari;[3] in the 'History' he speaks more fully of the council, but does not tell us that the compliment which had already been paid by the Pope to Anselm was repeated there.[4] We have seen that Malmesbury refers to Edmer as the great authority on the subject of Anselm; and it would seem that he has (whether from carelessness or for the sake of picturesque effect) mixed up Edmer's two narratives—connecting with the council of Bari a speech which was really made on an earlier occasion at Rome, and then and there only.

[3] L. ii. 42, 47; ib. clviii. 99, 102.

[4] L. ii.; ib. clxx. 414.

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